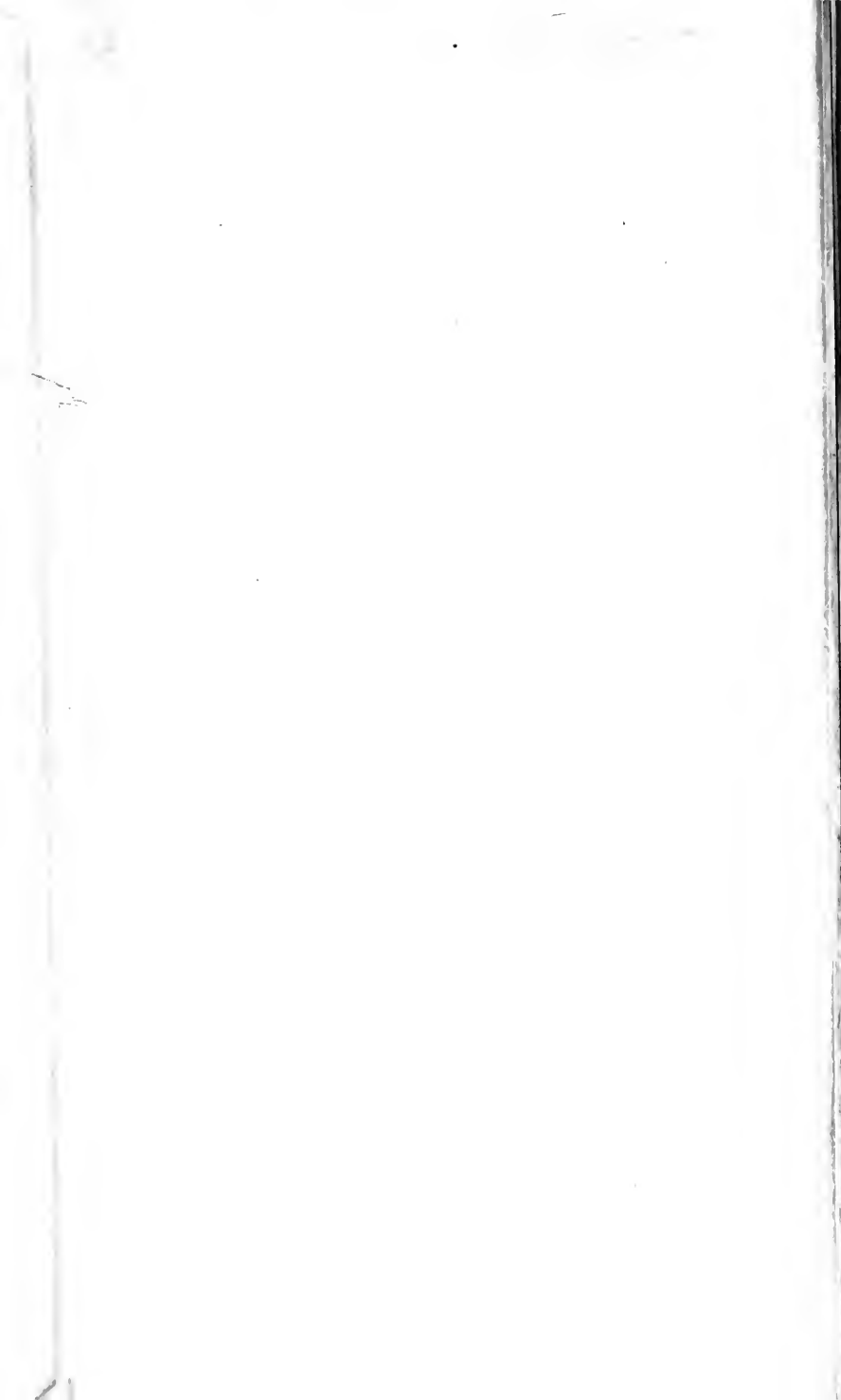
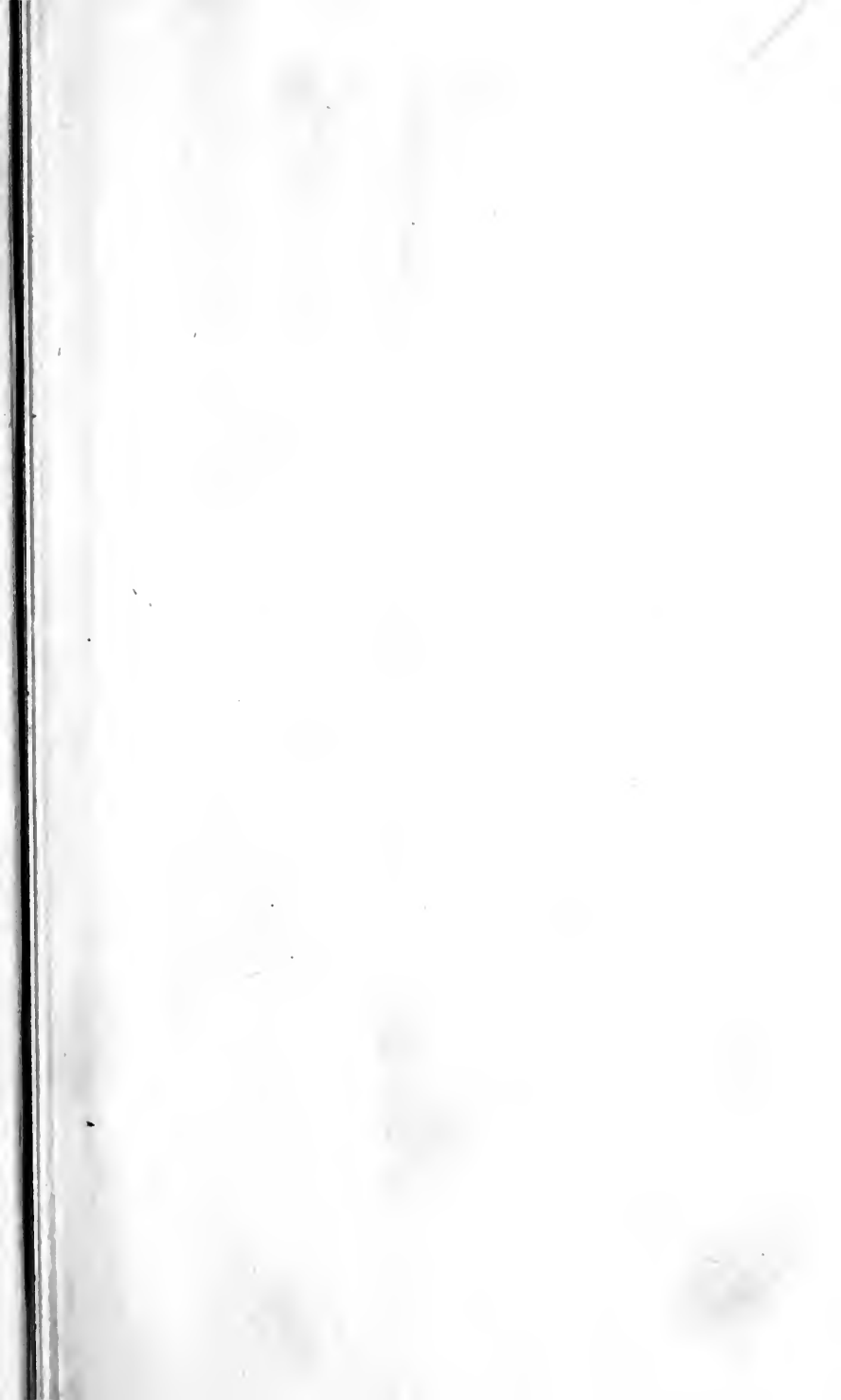


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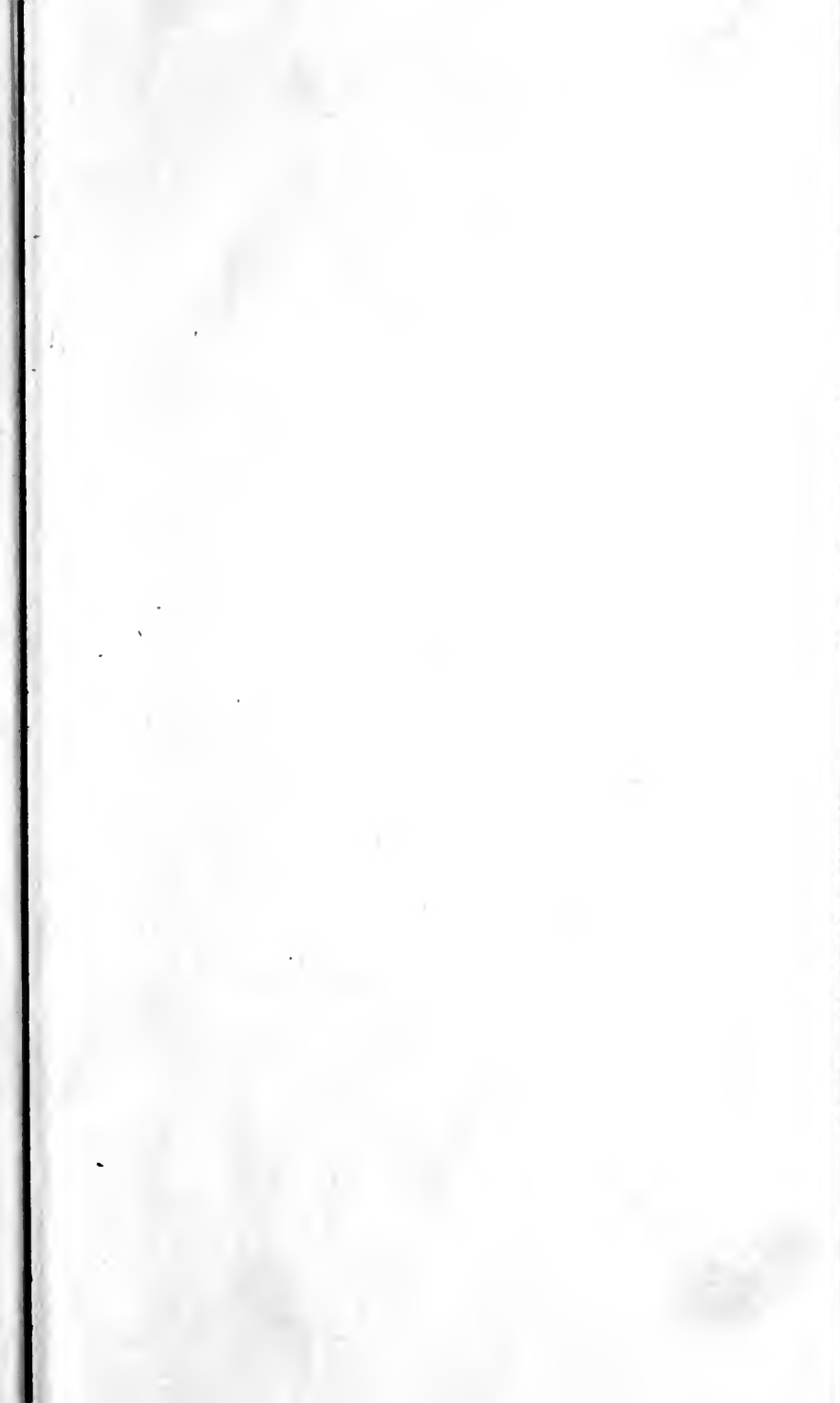


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F. SCHILLER.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE *Germany*
THIRTY YEARS WAR
IN
GERMANY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN

OF

FREDERIC SCHILLER,

AULIC COUNSELLOR, AND PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY
AT JENA,

BY

CAPTAIN BLAQUIERE,

OF THE ROYAL IRISH ARTILLERY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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1799.





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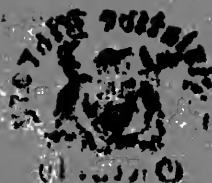
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1709

Vol



W. M. BORD

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

AFTER having enjoyed the most brilliant reputation throughout Europe, SCHILLER appears, for the first time in England, as a historian; and as such, it is to be hoped, will not be unacceptable to an English reader of taste, if any favourable inference can be drawn from the great applause which the original of the present work has received in Germany, or the success of his other productions in general.

The first volume of the present History appeared a few years since at Leipzig, in

a periodical work, entitled, *The Ladies' Calendar*; and its great success induced the author to write the second. The work is, however, still in some measure imperfect; and it is sincerely to be hoped, that he may be able to continue it as far as the memorable treaty of Munster, in Westphalia.

Although the transactions described in this History are more particularly interesting to a German reader, they are not altogether foreign to English history. To this memorable war is ascribed that balance of power which still preserves the liberties of Europe; an institution which can never be an object of indifference to those who are anxious for the welfare of their country.

The Translator entertains too well grounded a diffidence of his abilities not to acknowledge,

ledge, that he has given but a very feeble copy of an original, which is written with all the spirit and elegance of which the German, the most vigorous and eloquent perhaps of all modern languages, is capable of attaining. The German idiom is so different from our own, as not to admit of a literal translation; and the warmth of the author's imagination sometimes indulges itself in figures which are not consistent with the chaster rules of English history.

It is hoped the public indulgence will be extended to the performance of a young and inexperienced writer; should any degree of approbation be bestowed on it, the Translator intends to publish the history of a second war, more recent and more bloody, and by it to terminate the two most memorable epochas of the German history.

DUBLIN,
September 4th, 1799.

1. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1997, 34, 1, 1-15.

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... ..

WIELAND'S PREFACE.

NO work has for a considerable time appeared in Germany which has been read with more ardent and universal applause than the first part of The History of the Thirty Years War, by which the Aulic Counsellor Schiller has given the Historic Calendar for the Ladies in 1791, a value of which no periodical publication of that nature can hitherto boast.

Although this work was originally destined for the fair sex, I will venture to say, without exaggeration, that it has had as many readers as there are persons of any pretension to taste in the compass of our literature. Written by an author whose earlier essays were in dramatic
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composition, and who now, for the first time, entered the immediate field of the historic muse, he exceeded the expectations formed of his riper years from the merit of his earlier productions. The work before us has already surpassed all that our language could boast of in this department of literature ; and it must naturally excite in all to whom the glory of their country is not indifferent, a desire that a writer should appear who could display in this new career talents capable of gaining him a rank with a Hume, a Robertson, or a Gibbon ; and devote them, if not altogether, at least principally, to the history of his native country.

Mr. Schiller, after continuing the Thirty Years War down to the period of the decisive battle near Leipzig in 1631, was obliged to break off where the scene of action (to use his own words) became still more fertile in brilliant exploits, richer in heroes, more interesting by sudden reverses of fortune and critical conjunctures. The impatience of the public for his

continuation was equal to the pleasure with which the commencement of the work was received ; and the general expectation that the author would, the ensuing year, resume his narrative according to his engagement, upon condition of its meeting the approbation of his readers, was believed the more reasonable, as he obtained this desire in its fullest extent.

The more impatient and well grounded the public expectation was, the greater disappointment it must have afforded, instead of the expected conclusion to receive only a *fragment* of the History. But I certainly do not flatter my excellent friend too much (who most severely felt the impossibility of his having fulfilled his engagement), when I aver, that the already universally known cause of disappointment was more sensibly felt by his readers of both sexes than by himself ; and this the more, as it is certain that the too great zeal with which, during the preceding winter, he prosecuted this laborious and important research,

search, by reading, comparing, and reviewing the various sources, and in preparing the materials which an uninterrupted execution of such an intricate work required, principally contributed to produce a distemper which, bidding defiance to medicine, put his life more than once in danger, and which, even after the fortunate skill of a celebrated physician and the waters of Carlsbade had overcome, so reduced his constitution, that the hope of prolonging an existence so dear to those who have the happiness of his acquaintance, depends only upon his abandoning every work of importance in future.

Mr. Schiller has every reason to expect that the circumstances of his situation have a claim to the indulgence and participation of the public, whose esteem he has no less acquired by his talents, than he has attracted that of his friends by his amiable disposition. * * *

* * * * * [Here some sentences of
this

the original are omitted, as not properly belonging to this translation.]

I shall now join my wishes with those of every lover of his country, that the author may be enabled to pursue his literary career; for, if I mistake not, these views taken from the German history are most interesting,—treated with such sagacity, impartiality, and freedom from prejudice, and with that humanity, justice, and indulgence, even towards those for whose sentiments one can scarcely refrain from expressing contempt; with this continual retrospect towards the common interests, and what is not less striking, with so much warmth, strength, eloquence, and taste; in short, executed in the manner of which only Schiller is capable. Without doubt such pictures, taken from our own history, are the most powerful means to restore and preserve the national spirit, which in this century appears to have declined, rather than increased; and still more to contribute to the perfection

fection and the preservation, if possible, of our constitution, so singular in itself.

Taking it for granted, that all constitutions are less the work of human wisdom and a deliberate plan, than of different parts put together by time and chance; every impartial judge must, in my opinion, confess that the present constitution of Germany is the best which could be fixed at the national assembly at Osnabruc. That assembly procured the nation all the advantages of a limited, mild, and paternal government; and secured the power of both the greater and smaller states, whose organization is more or less republican; and if not wholly free from the disadvantages attending that form of constitution, at least it is from the most insupportable of all tyrannies, democratic or aristocratic despotism.

It is true, our constitution, in order to produce the welfare and happiness of the nation, can dispense as little, and perhaps less, with
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the moral and native sources of this harmonic union. Much depends upon the greater or less degree of virtue, culture, and understanding of the different princes; but in this particular, perhaps no nation in the world can boast of a more fortunate situation than our present. The greater part of our princes (I am unwilling to pay them this tribute, lest it should wear the aspect of flattery) are distinguished by a laudable disposition to promote the welfare and attachment of their subjects, by their talents, activity, and respect for the arts and sciences; in short, by every quality of the heart and mind, which even in a private station would render them respectable. In almost every part of the German Empire there gradually prevails a spirit of improvement, a freedom from old prejudices, a visible effort towards the reform of former abuses, the alleviation of common grievances, and the promotion of every undertaking of general advantage. Never were the sciences in such a flourishing condition; never the public education in so good a state; never
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the freedom of the press (the palladium of mankind) so unrestrained as it is in the greater part of Germany at this day; and, what every patriot must with me reckon one of the greatest felicities of our time is, that Germany, for centuries, has not possessed a chief endowed in an equal degree with these virtuous qualities, which render him fit for the first throne in the world, as the present Emperor, Leopold II. Never before could Germany promise itself such advantages from the influence of its sovereign, who labours with its other princes for the common advantage of all*.

I must

* That excellent sovereign, who upon the first throne in Europe displayed all the condescension of a private gentleman and the virtues of an honest man, fell, early in 1792, one of the numberless victims of French philosophy and illumination. Too cowardly to employ open force, the French Jacobins had recourse to the more convenient expedient of assassination; and poison, administered to the Emperor by a French governor of Count Collerado's children, terminated in a few hours his existence amid horrible convulsions. Such are the means which that philosophic and enlightened people use to disseminate happiness and virtue among mankind! Leopold's death, however, it is some consolation to reflect,

I must add to those singular advantages of our present situation, the cultivation which begins to operate from higher authority, and which promises to oppose a contrary system (less indeed to be dreaded among us than any power in Europe) with the greatest effect.

The object and the limits of this preface prevent me from expatiating further upon the advantages which we possess, not only from our present circumstances, but our constitution. I am sensible of the objections which can be made by those who have cause to be dis-

reflect, has been amply avenged by the victories of his accomplished and brave son, the Archduke Charles.

His Empress did not long survive him. That admirable woman, after seeing her husband expire, summoned strength sufficient to go to her eldest son, the present Emperor: surrounded by her numerous and beautiful family, and holding her youngest child in her arms, she besought him to supply towards them the place of a father. After this she appeared no more, and shortly followed to the grave the partner of her soul; a rare example of conjugal affection. It is, however, to be hoped, that the afflictions of the one life may be amply recompensed by their everlasting felicity in the other. *Transf.*

contented with our form of government, and are desirous of setting it in an unfavourable light. But if we can boast of no Platonic republics, or Utopian monarchies realized; whoever is sufficiently acquainted with the nature of human affairs to know how good and evil compensate each other; whoever is sensible how much a considerable advantage counterbalances disadvantages, and is naturally connected with those evils; in short, whoever has learned that a state of suffering is the *most* which mortals can propose to themselves, however *hope*, by a wise disposition of nature, can reconcile us to futurity, he must, upon a rational consideration of what we possess, and can dispense with, allow that we must be contented with our lot. We shall then cease to cite the division of the German states into so many small principalities, as a proof of their not being able to attain interior strength and prosperity, nor the weight, and consequence among the European powers to which another constitution might entitle them.

Leaving

Leaving this censure in its full force, I think we may, with good grounds, value the advantages of our constitution far above its full effects, or rather reckon ourselves in debt to the latter for these advantages.

We must, if we compare the situation of Germany with other nations, consider that the general prosperity of most of the provinces should, in a monarchical or republican form of government, be much limited. We must also confess, that a chain of former circumstances, for which our present condition is by no means to be accountable, should have left us, in point of civilization, far behind the southern and western parts of Europe; and principally the long and bloody contest which our ancestors maintained against the despotic enterprises of Charles V. and Ferdinand II. which might have kept back the German Empire, exhausted to the utmost degree, for more than a century. But where is an European country, every physical cause

considered, and subtracting all the advantages of an earlier cultivation, that can be compared with our Empire upon the whole, in point of population, in agriculture, and taking advantage of all the gifts of nature, in the number, not of great and rich, but of middling, civilized, and industrious cities? In most other countries little gradation is perceptible between immoderate riches and oppressive poverty, the extremes of luxury and misery, and the excess of refinement or of barbarism. The number of these gradations, on the contrary, of single men and families, who, comparatively speaking, are in an easy situation, and the resources which the inhabitants of the German Empire possess of making their fortune by means of talent, science, or useful occupation; or at least of gaining a subsistence which can satisfy rational desires, are infinitely greater than in any other country. If this moderation, which prejudice rather than reason often reproaches us with, confines us within narrow limits in some arts, particularly those of taste and refined luxury, which

which can only take place in an immense capital where national wealth centres ; yet, on the contrary, to this admirable medium we owe advantages infinitely more precious ; greater purity of manners ; and, by the multitude of well-regulated institutions for education, schools, and seminaries, which are conspicuous in Germany above all other countries, a much greater number of people in proportion are able to distinguish themselves by a general diffusion of knowledge and cultivation.

It must appear self-evident to every person that these advantages are the natural consequences of the subdivision and various organization of the different states of Germany.

It is true this organization of the Germanic body gives it a certain tardiness in its movements, which, in many particulars, is to its disadvantage. From this reason it cannot interfere so easily in the transactions of other powers, make conquests, or even defend it-

itself from exterior attacks so readily as under another constitution. But in return, its exterior strength is secured ; and also this inactivity, by which the different states depend upon their common chief, unites them, it is hoped, the closer under so wise and active an Emperor as Leopold II. and our exterior security is infinitely favourable to the uninterrupted progress of our welfare and improvement. Fortunately the French revolution has secured us for some centuries, in a quarter which was hitherto most dangerous—we have no more a Louis XIV. to apprehend ; the French nation, in their new constitution, can only be improved by the perpetual peace which they have held out to the world ; and which, in my opinion, should render the 14th of July, or rather the 14th of September, a festival with all patriotic Germans *. If any thing can disturb our confi-

* The world has since received but too convincing proofs how much the author has been deceived in his conjectures. All the boasted victories of Louis XIV. during half a century were infinitely less destructive to the German liberties than the progress of the French republicans during the present war, in a very short period. *Transf.*

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tution, and deprive us of the blessings of a perpetual peace, it must arise from ourselves. But in this particular we can the more easily ensure its present and future safety, since there are great powers in Europe whose interest it is to suffer no other to aggrandize itself at the expense of the German Empire.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the advantages which accompany our constitution, and our division into small states, are attended, particularly the latter, besides the inconveniences before mentioned, with another evil, by which the discordance of the different parts would gradually tend towards the dissolution of the whole, if the contrary causes had not delayed this decay;

This evil, which is least considered by those who are most interested in it, is the great want of national spirit, which is visibly displayed among all people who are placed under one form of government, whether monarchical or republican,

republican, who have common interests, and are united under one head. The reproaches which foreigners make us upon this subject are but too well grounded. Whoever travels through the Empire finds, indeed, Austrians, Prussians, Saxons, Palatines, Bavarians, Wirtembergers, &c. with some hundreds of less important appellations, but no GERMAN; and he in vain looks for that GERMANY of which the Emperor is sovereign. Each of these particular states has its peculiar interests unconnected with the rest. It is not then surprising, if indifference towards universal national interests, towards whatever could promote universal prosperity, should strike the stranger as a characteristic of the Germans, and make us lose infinitely in his opinion the value which, did we properly respect ourselves, would make us surpass any nation in the universe!

This is not, however, the proper place to examine how far the immediate states of the Empire, as the constitutional representatives of the

the

the nation, have in their hands the power to remedy those abuses. But when, as I think, we consider several national institutions which could be employed with advantage towards this salutary purpose, this mean, which alone the union of the entire nation is requisite to produce, will be perceived to increase daily in its progress. That its force and its effect is purely moral, diminishes its influence the less while it affects the head and heart, and attains its ends slower and more imperceptibly, but with greater certainty, strength, and durability.

What then is this mean ? It is, in a word, the influence of writers who, by their genius, energy of mind, eloquence, and representation of things, can make a lively impression upon the imagination of mankind. They are, in a manner, *the men of Germany* ; they are universally read, their writings penetrate even to the smallest towns, and light already begins to appear in places which twenty-five years ago lay in the utmost darkness. If these are animated

mated by a genuine patriotism, if they are led by an enlightened valuation of the advantages of our constitution, and glow with a pure ardour for the common good, it is most certain that their continued efforts must succeed in kindling the holy flame of love for their country in every German heart, and awake this common sentiment, which alone is capable of uniting in one body the Empire now divided by so many names, dialects, manners of living, and political constitutions, and to inspire this contradictory system with sentiments worthy of a great, noble, brave, and enlightened people.

To attain this end, if I am not much mistaken, nothing can be more effectual than the edification produced by our national history, of which I have already spoken. Materials are as little wanting from German virtues, since the earliest ages, as from any other people: and it is now time to turn this treasure to a proper advantage.

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Under this view the dramatic form is the best, perhaps, with which such historic scenes of our literature can be enriched. What a noble gallery might be formed from the pictures which our history produces since the time of Charlemagne, if treated by a masterly hand!

The famous Marlborough was not ashamed to confess that he had derived all his knowledge of the British history from Shakespeare's plays. A similar acknowledgment might be made towards our history without offending the precious works of our diplomatic, critical, and systematic historical writers. The former could suit every class and degree of readers, and equally produce the abolition of old prejudices, destroy the remains of an unfortunate party spirit, promote evident views of the nature of our constitution, and of its influence upon the character and circumstances of the times; and while they inspire us with a lively participation of the most famous epochas, the most celebrated characters, and the most important events of the nation,

how

how can they fail in the noble purpose of promoting an universal patriotism, which feels for the fame or the ignominy, the prosperity or the adversity of the nation, and which is concerned in the laudable preservation and improvement of our fortunate constitution !

Finding myself, at the conclusion of this subject, at the place of my commencement, nothing remains but to accompany my excellent friend in his historic career with my best and warmest wishes.

WIELAND.

WEIMAR,
October 10th, 1791.



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HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR.

BOOK I.

SINCE the commencement of the religious disputes in Germany, there was scarcely any event of importance in which the Reformation had not the principal share. Every circumstance during this period, if not immediately arising from the Reformation, is more or less connected with it; and all states, of whatever limits or importance, have more or less experienced its influence.

The House of Austria levelled almost the entire force of its political strength against the new doctrines and their adherents. The Reformation had kindled the flames of civil war in France, and, during four boisterous administrations, reduced that kingdom to the last extremity, in-

roduced foreign troops, and rendered it, during half a century, a scene of the most melancholy devastation. It was the Reformation which rendered the Spanish yoke insupportable in the Netherlands, excited among that people the courage to assert their independence, and principally afforded them strength for that undertaking. All the designs of Philip II. against Elizabeth queen of England arose from his desire of revenge against her for having taken under her protection his Protestant subjects, and put herself at the head of a religious party which he laboured to annihilate. The division of the church in Germany was succeeded by a lasting political one, which rendered the Empire a scene of the greatest confusion for more than a century, but which also erected an effectual barrier to oppression. It was the Reformation which first drew the northern powers, Sweden and Denmark, into the political system of Europe; the assistance of those two kingdoms having become indispensably necessary to the Protestant powers. States which hitherto were scarcely known, began, by means of the Reformation, to unite themselves by a sympathy in politics: and according as citizens among themselves, and princes among their subjects, began to assume the appearance of opposition, entire kingdoms were

were opposed to each other in situations hitherto unknown to them; and thus, by the extraordinary nature of circumstances, the union of states was produced by their religious dissensions.

The consequences of those dissensions were destructive and dreadful before this universal political sympathy was effected. A thirty years war, which from the interior of Bohemia to the mouth of the Scheld, from the banks of the Po to the coasts of the Baltic, desolated countries, destroyed the harvests, and laid towns and villages in ashes: a war in which above three hundred thousand combatants sacrificed their lives, extinguished during half a century the rising progress of civilization in Germany, and reduced the improving manners of the people to their ancient barbarism.

Europe found itself, however, at the conclusion of this war, free and independent, after having for the first time erected a balance of power; and that admirable institution, which is certainly owing to this war, may serve with the philanthropist as a sufficient atonement for the miseries which it occasioned. The hand of industry has gradually effaced its ravages,
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while its benign influence still survives; and the war which arose from the troubles of Bohemia, terminated in a peace which is still guaranteed by the balance of power that it produced: and thus, while the flames of devastation from the interior of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria, found means to extend themselves to Germany and France, the influence of the civilization of the latter countries has been extended to other nations.

Religion was the original cause of those events; the possibility of circumstances was owing to it alone: but it was by no means the sole motive of the war. Had not private interests and state prejudices been closely connected with it, neither the arguments of theologians, the voice of the people, nor the Protestant doctrines, could ever have found such numerous and obstinate champions. The Reformation was doubtless occasioned by the invincible force of truth, and by opinions held for such. The abuses of the old church, the dissolute lives of many of its clergy, and the rapacity of its pretensions, must naturally have excited a disgust which tended to render a reformation in religion highly popular. The pleasures of independence, the riches of ecclesiastical institutions,

tions, gave charms to a reformation in the eyes of princes, which heightened their inward conviction of its other benefits. But political considerations alone were sufficient to compel them to espouse it. Had not Charles V. in the intoxication of success, made an attempt on the independence of the German princes, a Protestant league would have with difficulty taken up arms in defence of the faith ; without the ambition of the Guises, the Calvinists of France could never have found at their head a Condé or a Coligny ; without the imposition of the tenth or twentieth penny, never had the see of Rome lost the United Netherlands. Princes contended for self-defence or aggrandizement, while enthusiasm recruited their armies, and opened to them the treasures of their subjects ; such as did not follow their standards from mercenary motives, imagined that they shed their blood for their religion, though it was in reality for the interest of their princes.

It was happy for the people, that upon this occasion their interests were united with those of their rulers ; to this circumstance alone they were indebted for their deliverance from popery. It was also a fortunate circumstance for princes, that the subject, while combating for their interests,

Such, however, were the circumstances in which the princes concerned in the Reformation found themselves. By a peculiar chain of events, the division of the church was united with two circumstances, without which the conclusion would have been wholly different; the increase of power of the House of Austria, and its active zeal for the old religion. The one aroused the princes, and the other armed the people.

The abolition of a foreign tribunal in their own territories, the supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, the abolition of sending money to Rome, and the ample treasures of the church, afforded

afforded tempting advantages to every sovereign; and it appears at first view strange why they were not equally so to the princes of the House of Austria. What should have prevented that House, particularly its German line, from listening to the voice of a number of its subjects, and aggrandizing itself, after the example of others, at the expense of a defenceless clergy? It is difficult to imagine that the conviction of the infallibility of the church of Rome had a greater effect in producing the steady perseverance of this House, than the opposite persuasion had upon the Protestant princes. But several circumstances combined to incline the House of Austria to support popery; Spain and Italy, from whence the power of Austria derived its principal support, yielded to Rome that blind obedience which had distinguished the Spaniards since the Gothic ages. The smallest inclination to the obnoxious tenets of Luther and Calvin would have irrecoverably lost to the government of Spain the attachment of its subjects. A Spanish king had no alternative between abdication and orthodoxy. He laboured under similar difficulties in his Italian dominions, where he was obliged to treat his subjects with still greater indulgence, as they were not only more impatient of a foreign yoke, but

also possessed easier means of throwing it off. To this were added the claims of France on those countries, and the near residence of the Pope; motives sufficient to prevent him from declaring himself for a party which professed the annihilation of popery, and which bound him to exert himself with the most active zeal for the old religion. These general views by which the Spanish monarchy was influenced, were still further strengthened by particular ones. Charles V. had in Italy a dangerous rival in the king of France, when that country threw itself under the latter's protection, while Charles had rendered himself suspected of heresy. From similar circumstances a rupture with the church would now be entirely disadvantageous. When Charles had his choice of either religion, the new as yet had not acquired such great influence, and there was still a prospect of its reconciliation with the old. During the administration of his son and successor, Philip II. a monastic education united with a gloomy despotic disposition to render that prince a determined enemy of all innovations in the faith; prejudices which the circumstances of his most formidable political enemy, being also the enemy of his religion, were not calculated to weaken; as his widely spread European territories

tories lay open to the influence of foreign opinions, the progress of the Reformation would not be an object of indifference to him; and his immediate interests required a close attachment to the old faith, in order to check the new heresy. Affairs naturally placed this prince at the head of the league which the Catholics formed against the adherents of the new doctrines. The maxims which were adopted during the active reigns of Charles V. and Philip II. remained in force during that of their successors; and in proportion as the division of the church augmented, the attachment of Spain was increased for the old religion.

The German line of the House of Austria appeared to be more free; but though many of those obstacles were removed, it was still bound by others. The possession of the Imperial throne by a heretic was impossible, (for how could an apostate from the church possess that dignity?) and bound the successors of Ferdinand I. to popery. Ferdinand himself was conscientiously attached to the church; the German princes of the House of Austria were besides not sufficiently powerful to dispense with the assistance of Spain, from all hope of which they excluded themselves by favouring the new doctrines:

doctrines : besides, their dignity required them to maintain the political system of the Empire, that confirmed their own power, which the Protestants endeavoured to abridge. If, besides, we consider the coldness of the Protestants towards the wants of the Emperor, and towards the common dangers of the Empire, their exorbitant usurpations on the temporalities of the church, and their violence when they felt their own strength, we can easily perceive the grounds upon which the Emperor was attached to popery, and the motives on which he united his own interests with those of the Catholic religion. As the fate of this religion was determined perhaps by the division of Austria, all Europe regarded the princes of that House as the pillars of popery ; the hatred of the Protestants against the latter was universally turned to Austria, and the cause was gradually confounded with the protector. Every warlike preparation of Spain or the Emperor was for the destruction of the Protestants ; every campaign against these two powers was a war against monkery and the inquisition.

But by this very House of Austria, the inveterate enemy of the Reformation, were the liberties of Europe exposed to no small danger by
its

its ambitious projects, particularly the German states. The latter must by this have been aroused from their security, and rendered attentive to their self-defence; their ordinary resources would never have enabled them to resist so formidable a power; extraordinary exertions must be required from their subjects; and even those not being sufficient, they were constrained to have recourse to foreign powers, and, by a confederacy among themselves, oppose a power which they were singly unable to resist.

But the strongest political considerations which the sovereigns had to oppose to the pretensions of Austria were not extended to the people; the people are animated only by immediate advantages or immediate evils, and a sound policy can never reckon upon these. It would also have been ill with those princes, if another powerful motive had not offered itself, which excited the passions of the people, and inspired them with an enthusiasm which directed itself against their political danger connected with it. This motive was the declared hatred against the religion which Austria protected, and the enthusiastic admiration of a doctrine which that House by fire and sword endeavoured to extirpate. This attachment was ardent,
that

that hatred invincible. Enthusiasm fears distant calamities, and fanaticism never calculates its sacrifices; the most pressing dangers of the state were not so powerful in exciting the people to action as religious prejudices: few would have voluntarily taken up arms for the interests of the prince or the state; but for religion, the merchant, the farmer, the artisan, readily armed themselves: while they would have murmured against the smallest extraordinary impositions for the prince or the state, they readily embarked their lives and fortunes in the cause of religion. The treasures and armies of princes were immensely augmented; and in the ferment excited by the dangers to which religion was exposed, no burden was felt by the subject, who in cooler moments would have sunk under its weight. The terrors of the Spanish inquisition and of Bartholomew's night, procured for the Prince of Orange, the Admiral Coligny, the British Queen Elizabeth, and the Protestant Princes of Germany, resources among their subjects which are inconceivable.

With all possible exertions they would, however, have effected little against a power which was alone an overmatch for the most powerful prince. At that period an imperfect policy
only

only induced distant states to their mutual succour; the diversity of government, laws, language, manners, and national character, which divided the one nation from the other, rendered them insensible to their mutual distresses when they were not excited by a prospect of indemnification at the expense of their enemy; the Reformation heightened their bond of union; a more lively interest than national prejudices or patriotism appeared, independently of individual interests, to actuate the people. These interests were capable of binding the most distant states, though they sometimes lost their force among the subjects of the same country. The French Calvinist possessed with the reformed inhabitant of Geneva, of England, Germany, or Holland, a rallying point which he had not with his own Catholic fellow-citizen. The good fortune of the Flemish arms, borne for liberty, afforded them greater pleasure than the triumph of their own sovereign in the cause of popery. In consequence, the citizen ceased in a very important particular to confine his views entirely to his own country; his views were extended, and from the destiny in foreign regions of his religion he began to calculate his own. At this period, for the first time, princes were enabled to bring foreign politics before their assembly.

assembly of states, and hope for a speedy assistance. The Palatine relinquishes his native country to assist his French religious associate; the French subject draws his sword against his country, and flies to the assistance of Holland's freedom; Swiss is now seen against Swiss, German against German; and the succession of France is decided on the banks of the Seine and Loire; the Dane crosses the Eider, the Swede the Baltic, to break the chains which were forged for Germany.

The interests of religion first introduced this sympathy among states, but their effects were speedily converted to politics; the union which secured them against religious, also secured them against political oppression; the princes possessed resources for their self-defence by these means, even independent of the people. While an armed power defended toleration in Germany, a German Emperor could not infringe the constitution, nor oppress the states of the Empire: while the same power protected the constitution, toleration remained unmolested. The views of the subject coincided with those of the people under those circumstances.

It

It is difficult to say what the fate of the Reformation and of Germany would have been, had not the formidable power of Austria declared against them. It appears however certain, that nothing prevented the Austrian princes from attaining universal monarchy so much as the obstinate war which they waged with the new religious doctrines. Under no other circumstances could the weaker princes excite their subjects to such efforts to withstand the Austrian power, or the states unite among themselves.

The Austrian power was never greater than after the victory which Charles V. obtained over the Germans at Muehlberg. By the treaty of Smalkalde the German liberties appeared ruined; but they revived in Maurice of Saxony, their once dangerous enemy. All the fruits of the victory at Muehlberg terminated in the congress at Passau and the assembly of Augsburg; and every scheme for religious and civil oppression ended in a favourable peace.

Germany, by the assembly of Augsburg, was divided into two civil and religious parties; until then the Protestants were regarded as criminal deserters, but now they were treated

as brothers, though more from fear than affection. The confession of Augsberg was now permitted to rival the Catholic religion, but still only as a tolerated neighbour; each state had the privilege of establishing any religion, to the exclusion of every other in its territories; every subject was permitted to leave a territory where his religion was not tolerated. From this period the doctrines of Luther received a positive sanction, and, though prohibited in Austria and Bavaria, they triumphed in Saxony and Thuringia. The sovereigns alone possessed the choice of a religion; no provision was made for the subject, who in this diet had no representative; in ecclesiastical territories alone the Catholic and the Protestant subject was allowed the free exercise of his religion; yet this indulgence was only upon the personal assurance of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, who effected this peace; an assurance which, however, the Catholic powers formally contradicted in the treaty, and which, of course, was not sanctioned as a law.

Did their divisions exist only in opinion, they would be regarded with indifference; but on those opinions depended riches, rank, and rights, a circumstance which rendered the
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breach irreparable; brothers who had hitherto lived in amity, now divided the paternal house; the father could not have provided for this unforeseen separation. From the benevolence of their ancestors, the riches of the church had been augmented during a thousand years, and ancestors belonged to the dead as well as the living. Was the right of inheritance attached to the paternal house, or to blood? The Catholic church awarded it to the first-born, because then the only son. But it might be questioned whether the Catholic church could establish the right of primogeniture as among noble families, or whether one party was to be favoured because no other was as yet opposed to it? It might also be questioned whether the Catholics were entitled to exclude the Protestants from the enjoyment of possessions, because the latter did not exist at their institution? Both parties have long disputed, and still dispute, upon these subjects with plausible arguments; both have found it equally difficult to establish the justice of their cause upon rational grounds; and to those religious foundations do not perhaps belong, especially, such as are dogmatically grounded: a perpetual gift can scarce be made by a changeable opinion.

What cannot be decided by equity, is decided by strength, as was the case in the present instance; the one part maintained what it could not be deprived of, the other defended what remained to it; all the bishoprics and abbeys which had been secularized previous to the peace remained with the Protestants, but the Catholics provided against any being afterwards secularized. Every possessor of an ecclesiastical foundation which was subject to the Catholics, forfeited his benefice and dignity upon his embracing the Protestant faith; he was immediately upon that event obliged to abandon his possessions, and the chapter proceeded to a new election, as if he had vacated by death. The Catholic church in Germany is still fastened to this sacred anchor of spiritual reserve, which makes the temporal existence of a Catholic prince depend entirely on his adherence to his religion; and it must be acknowledged that, without this anchor, the state of that religion would be very precarious. The ecclesiastical reserve met with a violent opposition from the Protestants; and though inserted in the treaty of peace, it was expressly mentioned that both parties had not settled on this point. Did it bind the Protestants more than the assurance of Ferdinand to tolerate the reformed religion,

ligion, did the Catholics? Thus two radical points of the treaty remained undecided, and by this means the war was renewed.

Such was the state of toleration and of ecclesiastical benefices; it was the same with rights and dignities. The government of the Empire accounted only for one religion, because one only had originally existed: the church had divided and the diet separated into two parties, and yet the same government would acknowledge but one religion. All the Emperors were hitherto of the Romish church, because no other religion had existed; but did the connexion with Rome depend upon the Emperor, or the Empire, which he represented? The Protestant party also belonged to the Empire, and how could they be properly represented by a succession of Catholic Emperors? The supreme tribunal was composed of the German states, who were their own judges; and its institution required it to dispense equal justice to all: could this institution be maintained if both parties were not admitted to share in it? That the Catholic religion alone existed at the period of this institution, was merely accidental. To prevent any one estate from oppressing another was the original design of it;

but this design is violated when one religious party is suffered to prescribe laws for the other. Must the original intention be abandoned because accident had changed circumstances? Finally, with great difficulty the Protestants procured a seat in the supreme council, but still could not obtain an equal number of voices. No Protestant prince has hitherto mounted the Imperial throne.

With regard to the equality which should have been instituted at the peace of Augsbourg between both religions, the Catholic still maintained the advantage; all the Lutherans obtained was toleration; the Catholics even made this sacrifice more from necessity than justice; there was as yet no peace between two equal powers, only a truce between the sovereign and unconquered rebels; and this opinion seemed to regulate the proceedings of the Catholics against the Protestants. It was still a great crime to go over to the Protestant religion, while so great a forfeiture was imposed by the spiritual reserve upon such Catholic princes as abandoned their faith. Even in succeeding periods the Catholic church preferred risking the loss of every thing by force rather than yield the smallest matter voluntarily to justice; there

there was yet a hope of regaining their former authority, and its loss was still regarded as accidental. But an abandoned pretension, a right formerly yielded to the Protestants, wounded the Catholic church in its most tender point, its infallibility, which suffers no other religion. Even the religious peace did not abolish these sentiments; concessions were not upon that occasion made unconditionally to the Protestants; affairs were only to remain as they were until the next general council, which was to be employed in effecting a reconciliation between both religions. It was only in case this last design did not succeed, that the religious treaty was to be considered as valid; and notwithstanding the improbability of such a reconciliation, which the Catholics themselves could scarcely hope for, they looked upon it as an advantage to have thrown obstacles in the way of this peace.

Thus the religious peace, which should have extinguished the flame of civil war, was only a temporary truce, a work of force and necessity, dictated neither by just ideas of religion or toleration. A peace of the latter sort the Catholics were unable to grant, and it must also be confessed it was such a one as the Pro-

testants did not yet fully comprehend. So far from displaying any moderation to the Catholics, they even oppressed the Calvinists when in their power ; but the latter scarce merited a tolerance which they were not themselves disposed to practise. Matters were not as yet prepared for a complete religious peace. Was it possible to require from others what they could not suffer themselves to grant ? What either party lost or gained by the treaty of Augsburg, they might ascribe to force, and the accidental situation in which both stood at its conclusion. What was obtained by force must be maintained by it. In order to preserve the peace, the strength of both parties must have remained unimpaired. With sword in hand the boundaries of both churches were traced, and with that weapon they must be guarded, or unfortunate it was for the party soonest disarmed ; a doubtful, melancholy prospect for the tranquillity of Germany, which the peace itself endangered !

A momentary tranquillity now took place in this Empire, and a temporary concord seemed to heal its divisions and restore the public good. But those divisions were radical, and to restore the original harmony was almost impossible. Notwithstanding the exactness with which the
peace

peace defined the boundaries of both parties, pretexts were not wanting to evade them. In the midst of hostilities a sudden cessation of arms had covered the flames of war, but not extinguished them; and both parties still maintained their pretensions. The Catholics imagined they had lost too much, the Protestants thought they had gained too little; and both endeavoured to put a construction on the peace calculated to favour their respective prejudices.

The seizure of the ecclesiastical benefices, the mighty motive which induced the Protestant princes to embrace Luther's doctrines, was equally strong after the peace as it had been previous to it, and such as was not already in their possession must speedily yield to them. All the north of Germany was already secularized; and the violent resistance of the Catholics, who retained the advantage in Upper Germany, alone prevented that part of the Empire from following its example. Each party exercised oppression where it prevailed; the ecclesiastical princes especially, the most defenceless part of the Empire, were particularly anxious concerning the aggrandizement of their Protestant neighbours; such as were too weak to repel force by force, had recourse to justice;

and the complaints made against the rapacity of the Protestants were numerous before the council of the Empire, which was very liberal in its decrees against them, but which not being enforced, were of no avail. The peace, which yielded religious toleration, had provided for the subject by leaving him in quiet possession of the country in which he professed his religion. But for the violence which the prince exercised against any of his obnoxious subjects, for the numerous vexations which were practised upon such as desired to emigrate, for snares artfully laid, in which malice was combined with power, the dead letter of this peace afforded no effectual remedy.

The Catholic subjects of Protestant princes complained loudly of violations of the religious peace; the Protestants were still louder in exclaiming against the oppressions to which they were exposed under their Catholic superiors. Every incident was embittered by the disputes and animosities of theologians, which of however little consequence in themselves, yet served to inflame the minds of the people. It would have been fortunate had they confined their mutual rage among themselves, without communicating it to their fellow-citizens.

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The unanimity of the Protestants would have been the means of preserving an equal balance between both parties, and thereby prolonging the peace; but, to increase the general confusion, their union was but of short duration. The doctrines preached by Zwingle in Zurich, and Calvin in Geneva, began to spread with rapidity in Germany, and to divide the Protestants into two parties, and they soon were to be recognized by no other similitude than their mutual hatred against popery. The Protestants of this period no longer resembled those who fifty years before had established their confession; and the cause of this circumstance is owing to that confession itself. By confining the Protestant faith within certain limits before the general spirit of inquiry had satiated itself, it deprived the Protestants of many of the advantages which they promised themselves by renouncing popery. Complaints against the Romish hierarchy and the abuses of that church, a rooted disapprobation of its doctrines, might have been sufficient to have afforded a point of union to the Protestants; but they sought this rallying point in a creed entirely new, in which they concentrated the distinctions, the advantages, and the existence of their church, and to this transferred the convention which they

they had formed with the Catholics. They were interested in the peace merely as partisans of the confession; all the benefits of the peace were shared by the immediate followers of that confession: but whatever might be the event, it must be equally to the disadvantage of those followers. Were the statutes of the confession rigidly adhered to, the spirit of inquiry was effectually suppressed, and the rallying point was lost if they should dispute concerning formalities. Unfortunately, both those events took place, and their evil consequences became manifest; one party steadfastly adhered to the original confession; and if the Calvinists abandoned it, it was only to confine themselves with equal rigidity to a new religious system.

A more plausible pretext the Protestants could not have afforded their common enemy, than this disunion among themselves; nor could they have exhibited to them a more pleasing spectacle than the animosity with which they alternately persecuted each other. Who could condemn the Catholics for throwing a ridicule upon the effrontery with which the Reformers propagated the new religion, when Protestants turned their own weapons against each other? nor can they be reasonably condemned

demned if, amid this contradiction of opinions, they stedfastly adhered to the authority of their church, which was sanctioned by superior antiquity, and more generally diffused.

By those divisions the Protestants were brought into entire confusion. The peace was properly extended only to the adherents of the confession, and the Catholics now demanded from them a declaration concerning the sentiments of the other Protestants. The Lutherans could not admit those of the reformed religion into their communion without offending their conscience; they could not exclude them from it without converting a useful ally into a dangerous enemy. By their unfortunate division the intrigues of the Jesuits were enabled to create jealousies between both parties, and disturb their measures. Through the double dread of the Catholics and their own Protestant opponents, the Protestants lost irrecoverably the opportunity of establishing their own church upon an equal footing with the Catholic. All those difficulties would have been avoided, and they might with safety have separated from the church of Rome, had they placed their rallying point at a greater distance from popery, and not in the confession of Augsberg.

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But however divided they were in other matters, they generally agreed that their security, which was owing to a just balance of power, must be maintained by that balance. The continual reforms of the one party, and the opposition of the other, rendered both vigilant, and the observance of the religious treaty was an object of perpetual dispute. While the one party defended their own innovations, under pretext of maintaining the treaty, they would admit of no indulgence towards their opponents. All the measures of the Catholics had not a tendency to violence, as was alleged by the opposite party: many of their actions were committed in self-defence. The Protestants had shown in a very unequivocal manner what the Catholics had to expect, if they should have the misfortune to become the weaker party. The desire of the Protestants to possess themselves of the property of the church left their antagonists no hope of indulgence, magnanimity, or toleration.

But the Protestants were also pardonable in placing no confidence in the Catholics. By the perfidious and barbarous usage of the Protestants in Spain, France, and the Netherlands, by the shameful evasions of the Catholic princes, who

who suffered themselves to be released by the Pope from the most sacred oaths, and by that detestable principle, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, the Catholic church had forfeited, in the eyes of all men of probity, every pretension to honour. No assurance, no oath, however sacred, from a Papist, could satisfy a Protestant. How must a religious treaty be regarded, which the Jesuits throughout Germany represented as only a temporary convenience, which in Rome was solemnly reprobated? The general council, referred to at the treaty, had already been held in Trent, but, as was expected, without having effected a reconciliation between the hostile religions; and without having taken more than one step to this purpose, which was opposed by the Protestants. These were now solemnly excommunicated by the church, whose representatives the council pretended to be. Could then a profane treaty, obtained by force of arms, secure them? a treaty which depended upon a condition that directly opposed the decisions of the council. Thus a pretext was not wanting for the Catholics to infringe the treaty, did they possess sufficient power. Henceforward also the Protestants were protected only by a dread of their strength.

Other circumstances combined to increase their distrust. Spain, on which the Catholics of Germany depended for support, was engaged in a bloody war with the Flemings, which had drawn the flower of the Spanish troops to the borders of the Empire. This army could, in a short time, enter the Empire to strike some decisive blow. Germany at that period was a warlike magazine for all the powers of Europe. The religious war had filled it with soldiers, who, in peace-time, were without occupation. So many independent princes could easily assemble armies, and, either from a desire of gain or spirit of party, hire them to foreign powers. It was with German troops Philip II. waged war against the Flemings, and with troops of the same nation that the latter defended themselves. Every such levy in Germany was a matter of alarm to the one party or the other; as they might be destined for the oppression of either. A travelling ambassador, an extraordinary popish legate, an interview of princes, an unusual incident, seemed to announce the ruin of one party or the other. Such was the situation of Germany during a period of near fifty years: the hand was laid upon the sword, and the slightest circumstance gave the alarm.

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The reins of government during this memorable period were held by Ferdinand I. King of Hungary, and his excellent son Maximilian II. With a heart full of candour, with a truly heroic patience, had Ferdinand effected the religious treaty of Augsberg, and bestowed infinite pains upon the ungrateful task of reconciling both religions in the council of Trent. Abandoned by his nephew Philip of Spain, and at the same time pressed by the victorious arms of the Turks in Transylvania, it could not be expected he entertained any idea of infringing the treaty, and destroying the fruits of his own labours. The great expenses of a Turkish war, perpetually renewed, could not be sustained by the sparing supplies of his exhausted hereditary dominions. He therefore stood in want of the assistance of the Empire; and the religious treaty alone still maintained the Empire in one body. His necessities rendered the Protestant as necessary to him as the Catholic, and required him to treat both with equal justice, which, amid so many contradictory claims, was a colossal undertaking. The event was also far from answering his expectations. His indulgence to the Protestants only served to end the war with his grandson, which his death saved him the mortification of beholding. His son Maximilian

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was not more fortunate, whom the circumstances of the times, and a longer life, perhaps, prevented from establishing the new religion upon the Imperial throne. The father experienced the necessity of indulgence to the Protestants : necessity and moderation dictated the same to the son. The grandson had cause to repent for having yielded to neither of those considerations.

Maximilian left six sons, of whom the elder, the Archduke Rodolph, inherited his dominions, and ascended the Imperial throne : the others were provided with moderate incomes. A few territories appertained to the collateral branches of the house under Charles of Styria, their uncle : and even these were united with the other dominions, under his son Ferdinand II. These territories excepted, the whole considerable power of the House of Austria was united under one head, but unfortunately a weak one.

Rodolph II. was not destitute of virtues, which must have acquired him the esteem of mankind, had his lot been a private station. His character was mild, and he loved peace and the sciences, particularly astronomy, natural history, and the study of antiquities. To these
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he applied himself with a vehement zeal, at a period when the critical situation of circumstances demanded the utmost vigilance; and while his exhausted finances required economy, his attention was diverted from state affairs, and he was betrayed into the most extravagant profusion. His taste for astronomy degenerated into astrological reveries, as generally happens with timid and melancholy dispositions. This, and a Spanish education, rendered him attentive to the advice of the Jesuits, and the persuasions of the Spanish court, by which he was at length entirely ruled. Governed by tastes which little suited the dignity of his character, and terrified by ridiculous prophecies, after the Spanish custom, he dissipated his time before his subjects, amid gems and antiques, in the laboratory, and in the stables. While the Empire fell into the most dangerous divisions, and the flames of rebellion already began to shake the throne to its centre, all access to his person was so forbidden, that it was necessary to be disguised as a groom in order to approach him. The most important concerns were neglected: the prospect of inheriting the crown of Spain was lost by his hesitating to espouse the Infanta Isabella. The Empire was threatened with the most furious

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anarchy, because, though without heirs himself, he could not be prevailed upon to elect a king of the Romans. The states of Austria renounced their allegiance; Transylvania and Hungary declared themselves independent; an example which was soon after followed by Bohemia. The posterity of the once so formidable Charles V. lay in danger of having one part of their dominions wrested from them by the Turks, another by the Protestants, and to sink under a powerful coalition of princes, which a great monarch of Europe had formed against them. The events in the interior of Germany were such as usually occurred when the Imperial throne was either not filled, or filled without dignity. Opposed or unsupported by the head of the Empire, its states, united for their mutual defence and confederacies, supplied the want of Imperial authority. Germany was divided into two leagues, which were opposed to each other in arms: Rodolph, a despicable opponent of the one, and an impotent protector of the other, remained inactive between both, equally incapable of defeating the former, or commanding the latter. What could the German Empire expect from a prince who was not even capable of maintaining his hereditary dominions against internal enemies?

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To save the House of Austria from total destruction, this unfortunate Emperor's own family rose against him; and a powerful party was formed under his brother. Driven from his hereditary dominions, nothing remained for him to lose but the Imperial dignity, and it was only a timely death that saved him from this last disgrace.

It was the evil genius of Germany which at this critical conjuncture, when only an active prudence and a more powerful arm could maintain the peace of the Empire, gave it a Rodolph for Emperor. At a more tranquil period the political system of Germany would have maintained itself, and Rodolph, like so many others of his rank, might have concealed his weakness in a mysterious obscurity. Germany required a sovereign who by his own resources could give weight to his decisions; and Rodolph's hereditary dominions, however considerable, were now in a situation which caused the greatest embarrassment.

The Austrian princes were Catholics, and supporters of popery: but their territories were by no means generally attached to that religion. The new doctrines were introduced among
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them, and having been favoured by Ferdinand's necessities and Maximilian's moderation, they had made a rapid progress. The territories of Austria bore a resemblance in miniature to the Empire at large. The great lords and gentry were mostly Protestants, and the latter were by far the most numerous in the cities. When they were able to introduce any of their adherents into the country, all places of trust, and the magistracy, were imperceptibly filled with Protestants, and the Catholics excluded from them. To oppose the great lords and gentry, together with the city deputies, the voice of a few bishops was too weak; and, by the contempt and ridicule of the former, prevented them from appearing in the national diet. Thus were the whole of the Austrian dominions gradually rendered Protestant, and the Reformation made rapid strides to its public establishments. The prince was dependant upon the states, who had it in their power to refuse or grant him supplies. They accordingly profited by the necessities of Ferdinand and his son, to obtain a toleration from them. At length Maximilian granted to the great lords and barons the free exercise of their religion, but confined it to their territories and castles. To have conceded a similar privilege to the cities and market-towns would have been

been equivalent to a total abolition of the Catholic religion: and this Emperor was too much controlled by Spain and Rome to venture upon so important a step for the benefit of the Protestants. By having maintained his authority against the lower orders of the Protestants, and divided them from the nobility, by preserving popery unimpaired in the cities and market towns, he hoped to have checked the future encroachments of the nobles. The blind enthusiasm of the Protestant preachers disregarded these prudent measures. Though expressly forbidden, several of them publicly preached not only in market-towns, but even in Vienna, and the people flocked in crowds to hear these discourses, which were distinguished only by the most outrageous insolence and abusive language. The lords and barons threw open their churches to the multitude, without attending to the orders of Maximilian, which restricted the toleration of religion to themselves and their vassals. By these polemical pulpit arguments fanaticism was increased, and the mutual hatred of both churches was poisoned by their intemperate zeal.

In the midst of these abuses Maximilian died, and bequeathed to his son his territories thus

torn by divisions. The Protestant religion, though oppressed by the laws, was in reality the reigning one, as it prevailed among the states, who prescribed rules to the sovereign. It was daily making proselytes, and threatened, with the assistance of the other German Protestants, totally to annihilate the Catholic faith, in whose ruin that of the House of Austria was also involved. Rodolph now began to oppose this impending storm, and laboured by stratagem as well as force to effect a counter-reformation. The churches forcibly seized by the Protestants were shut up; the religious toleration of the nobility, whenever abused, was put under restrictions; and the Protestants were gradually removed from their offices in the country, and replaced by Catholics. The prelates were now encouraged to appear in the national diet, and the Catholics obtained the superiority. Their diffidence and dread of the Protestants were restored, and thinking their destruction resolved on, their vigilance was awakened, and they began to look around them for foreign assistance. The combustibles of inward insurrection were prepared, which only awaited to be kindled into an explosion.

Among

Among the hereditary dominions of Austria, Hungary and Transylvania were the most difficult to be kept in subjection. The impossibility of maintaining those countries against the superior power of the Turks had already prevailed upon Ferdinand to adopt the dishonourable expedient of subsidizing the Porte to acknowledge his authority over them:—a dangerous confession of his weakness, and a still more dangerous temptation to the turbulent nobility to rebel upon every pretext. The Hungarians had not unconditionally submitted to the House of Austria. They maintained the privilege of electing their kings, and firmly insisted upon all the prerogatives attached to that right of election. The vicinity of the Turkish empire, and the ease with which they could change their masters, encouraged the magnats* in their presumption: dissatisfied with the Austrian government, they threw themselves into the arms of the Turks; disgusted with this yoke, they returned to their allegiance under Austria. But they suffered their German masters to make dear sacrifices for the preference which was given them. Their frequent and sudden transitions from

* The great lords of Hungary are so called. *Transf.*

one government to another had divided their sentiments: and uncertain how their country stood situated between the German and Ottoman powers, they wavered between apostasy and submission. The more both countries felt the misfortune of being subjected to a foreign power, the more they were inclined to obey a sovereign of their own; and in such circumstances it was not difficult for an enterprising nobleman to gain their confidence. A rebel against his sovereign, he hastened by a politic submission to assume a merit with the opposite party, and to obtain from it an investiture of the sovereignty. This was readily granted to him, because what was lost by the enemy was regarded as an acquisition. With alacrity the next bashaw supported a rebel against Austria, and with equal eagerness did Austria bestow whatever provinces were wrested from the Turks, provided a shadow of authority was maintained, and they served as a barrier against the Ottoman power. Several of such magnats, Bathori, Boschkai, Ragoczi, and Bethlen, established themselves in Hungary and Transylvania as tributary sovereigns, and observed no other policy than that of occasionally joining the enemy, to render themselves formidable to their own prince.

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Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Rodolph, who were all sovereigns of Hungary and Transylvania, exhausted the strength of their other states to secure the first from the irruptions of the Turks, and interior rebellion. Destructive wars were exchanged for short truces which were not much more advantageous: the country was laid waste, and the oppressed subject complained equally of his enemy and his protector. The Austrian soldier acted as master in the country which he defended; his subsistence, when not voluntarily given him, he exacted by force: he was assisted with reluctance, and behaved with insolence. The negligence of the Emperor, which left the country defenceless, the most important employments vacant, and the most pressing remonstrances unanswered, occasioned the loudest complaints in those as well as in his other territories: and the avarice of the fiscal, the insolence of his officers, and the licentiousness of his troops, rendered the murmurs universal.

The Reformation had also introduced itself into those countries, and supported by the protection of religious freedom, under cover of the tumult, had made a visible progress. This was now unseasonably introduced, and party spirit

was rendered more dangerous by fanaticism. The Transylvanian and Hungarian nobility arose, and under the command of Boscikai, a bold rebel, erected the standard of sedition. The insurgents in Hungary were prepared to unite themselves with the discontented Protestants in Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia, and to commence in those countries a dangerous rebellion. In such circumstances, the ruin of the House of Austria and of popery in those territories was inevitable.

The Archdukes of Austria, brothers to the Emperor, had long beheld the impending ruin of their family with silent sadness, but their patience was exhausted by the last events. The Archduke Matthias, Maximilian's second son, Viceroy of Hungary, and Rodolph's presumptive heir, came forward to save the House of Habsburg from total destruction. This prince in his youth, excited by a false ambition, had listened to the invitations of some Flemish rebels, who called him to their territories to defend their liberty against his own uncle, Philip II. Matthias, who mistook the invitation of a party for that of a whole people, appeared in the Netherlands; but the event contradicted the wishes of the inhabitants of Brabant as much

as his own expectations, and he relinquished the undertaking without having added to his reputation. His second appearance in the political world was more honourable.

After repeated ineffectual remonstrances to the Emperor, he assembled the Archdukes, his brothers and cousins, at Presburg, and consulted with them upon the danger which threatened the House. His brothers unanimously yielded to him, as the eldest, the defence of a patrimony which a feeble brother neglected; all their rights and authority were vested in the hands of Matthias, and they conferred upon him the sovereign power, in order to provide for their common good. He immediately entered into a negotiation with the Turks and with the Hungarian rebels, and succeeded by his address to save, by a peace with the Turks, the remainder of Hungary; and, by a convention with the rebels, to reserve Austria's claims to the lost provinces. But Rodolph, as jealous of his authority as he was unequal to maintain it, declined to confirm this treaty, which he regarded as a criminal encroachment upon his power. He accused the Archduke of corresponding with the enemy, and of traitorous designs upon the throne of Hungary.

The activity of Matthias was by no means free from ambitious views, but the conduct of the Emperor favoured them. Having secured the Hungarians by their gratitude for his lately obtaining them the blessings of peace, and assured of the attachment of the nobles by his emissaries; being also certain of a strong party in Austria; he began to address the Emperor in a more firm tone. The Protestants of Austria and Moravia, long prepared for revolt, and now gained over by the Archduke through a promise of toleration, openly espoused his party; and they at length effected their long threatened union with the rebellious Hungarians. A formidable conspiracy was at once formed against the Emperor; he resolved, when too late, to atone for his past faults; in vain he endeavoured to dissipate the confederacy against him; a general insurrection had taken place; Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, rendered homage to Matthias, who was already on his way from Bohemia to seize upon the Emperor in his palace, and annihilate his authority.

The kingdom of Bohemia was not a more quiet possession for Austria than Hungary; with this difference, that in the former, religious, and in the latter, political considerations, fomented

mented the disturbances. The first flames of religious war had broken out in Bohemia a century before Luther; and it was in that kingdom that, in a century after Luther, the flames of the thirty years war were kindled. The sect to which John Hufs had given birth, still existed in Bohemia, united with the Romish church in ceremonies and doctrines, except in the single article of the communion, of which they partook in both forms: this privilege was granted to them by the council of Basle, and though afterwards prohibited by the Pope, they still continued to enjoy it under the protection of government. As the use of the chalice * constituted the principal distinction of this sect, they were distinguished by the appellation of the *Utraquists* (communicants in both forms), and in this appellation, which reminded them of their favourite privilege, they assumed a pride. But under this title were also included the stricter sects of Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, which differed in more important points from the Romish church, and bore a strong resemblance to the German Protestants. Among the Germans as well as the Swiss, reformation made a rapid progress,

* A wonderfully important subject for a civil war! *Transf.*

and the name Utraquists, under which they concealed their innovations, served to protect them against persecution.

They in fact possessed nothing but the name in common with the Utraquists, and they were essentially Protestants. Full of confidence in their party, and the Emperor's tolerance, they openly professed their opinions under the reign of Maximilian; after the example of the Germans they established a particular catechism, in which they acknowledged both the Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrines, and wished to transfer all the privileges of the Utraquist church to this new confession. This attempt met with opposition on the part of their Catholic fellow-subjects, and they were obliged to content themselves with the verbal assurance of the Emperor's protection.

During the life of Maximilian they enjoyed perfect liberty in their new form, but the scene was changed under his successor. An Imperial edict was issued, in which the Bohemian Brethren were deprived of the liberty of conscience. These differed in no instance from the Utraquists, and their condemnation must consequently have involved all the Bohemian Protestants;

testants; all united to oppose the Imperial mandate in the diet, but without being able to annul it. The Emperor and the Catholic estates referred them to the constitution of the country, where in fact their religion, which had not yet gained the voice of the whole nation, found nothing in its favour. But how much were affairs changed since the period of that constitution? what then formed but an inconsiderable sect, was now become the reigning religion of the country. And was it not chicanery to confine a new increasing religion to old regulations? The Bohemian Protestants appealed to the verbal promise of Maximilian, and the toleration granted to the Germans, to whom they would yield no preference; but all was in vain, and they met with a refusal.

Such was the state of affairs in Bohemia when Matthias, already master of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, appeared in Kollin to raise the Bohemian states against the Emperor. The embarrassment of the latter was now extreme. Abandoned by his other hereditary dominions, he had fixed his last hopes upon the states of Bohemia, who, as might be foreseen, would take advantage of his necessities

to forward their claims. After an interval of many years he made his public entry into Prague at the diet, and to convince the people that he was still living, orders were given to open all the windows in the streets through which the proceſſion paſſed; a ſure proof of the neceſſity to which he was reduced. His fears were realized. The ſtates, which now felt their own importance, reſuſed to enter into terms without having their privileges confirmed, and their religion tolerated. It was in vain to have reſourſe to old weapons; the Emperor's deſtiny lay in their hands, and he muſt ſubmit to neceſſity. Nevertheleſs he yielded only to their other demands; thoſe which concerned religion he poſtponed until the enſuing diet.

The Bohemians now took up arms in his defence, and a bloody civil war was expected to enſue between both brothers. But Rodolph, who feared nothing ſo much as a ſlaviſh dependence upon the ſtates, preferred the way of negotiation. By a formal abdication he reſigned to his brother, Auſtria and the kingdom of Hungary, of which indeed he could not deprive him, and acknowledged him as his ſucceſſor to the crown of Bohemia.

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The Emperor had extricated himself at a great price from one difficulty only to involve himself in another. The religious affairs of Bohemia were referred to the next diet; this assembled in 1609. The Protestants required a free exercise of their religion, as under the late Emperor, a consistory, the cession of the university of Prague, and protectors or defenders of liberty from their own body: they were answered as formerly, for the timid Emperor was wholly governed by the Catholic party. Notwithstanding the threatening tone in which the states renewed their remonstrances, Rodolph adhered to his former declaration of not yielding to their demands; the diet dispersed without coming to any conclusion, and, exasperated against the Emperor, they concerted a general meeting in Prague, in order to redress themselves.

They accordingly appeared at Prague in great numbers. Notwithstanding the Imperial prohibition, they continued their deliberations almost before the Emperor's eyes; the condescension which he began to display, showed them how much they were an object of terror, and augmented their boldness; yet in the principal point he still remained inexorable. They

fulfilled their threats, and at length resolved of their own accord to establish a toleration of their religion, and to abandon the Emperor to his necessities until he had confirmed their resolutions. They proceeded still further, and established the *defenders*, which they were refused by the Emperor. Ten were nominated from each estate; and it was immediately determined to raise an armed force, of which the principal author of this insurrection, Count Thurn, was appointed commander. This resolution at length obliged the Emperor to yield, to which the Spaniards even advised him. Apprehensive lest the incensed states should throw themselves under the Hungarian King's protection, he signed the famous Bohemian *Letter of Majesty*, by which that people justified their insurrection under his successors.

The Bohemian confession which the states had submitted to the Emperor Maximilian, obtained in this letter an equal right with the Catholic religion. The Utraquists, as the Bohemian Protestants still continued to denominate themselves, were put in possession of the university of Prague, and obtained a consistory of their own, independent of the episcopal see of that city; all the churches which at the obtaining

ing of this letter they possessed in the cities, market-towns, and villages, were confirmed to them; and the nobility, gentry, and magistrates, were not prohibited from erecting new ones. This last article of the *letter of majesty* is that which afterwards unfortunately kindled the flames of war throughout Europe.

The *letter of majesty* erected the Protestant part of Bohemia into a sort of republic. The states learned the strength which they had acquired by union and perseverance; the Emperor retained only a shadow of his authority: among those denominated *protectors of liberty*, the spirit of insurrection had attained a dangerous height. The example and good fortune of Bohemia afforded a strong temptation to the other states of Austria to extort similar privileges. The spirit of liberty extended from one province to another; and as it was principally the disunion between the Austrian princes, of which the Protestants took such advantage, they now endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the Emperor and the King of Hungary.

But this reconciliation could not be sincere; the injury was too great to be forgiven, and

Rodolph nourished in his bosom an irreconcilable hatred to Matthias. With regret and indignation he reflected the Bohemian sceptre would also descend to the hands of his enemy; and the prospect was not much more consoling, even though Matthias died without children: in that case, Ferdinand Archduke of Gratz, whom he equally hated, was at the head of the family. To exclude the latter, as well as Matthias, from the Bohemian succession, he formed a scheme of bequeathing that kingdom to Ferdinand's brother, the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau. The prejudices of the Bohemians in favour of the elective right of their crown, and their attachment to Leopold's person, appeared favourable to this scheme, in which Rodolph was directed more by his factious disposition and vengeance, than the good of his family. In order to promote this project, a military force was wanting, which Rodolph actually assembled in the bishopric of Passau. The destination of this corps was kept secret; but an unforeseen inroad which it made into Bohemia for want of pay, and unknown to the Emperor, besides the irregularities it committed, exasperated the whole kingdom against him. In vain did he protest his innocence to the states, who did not believe his
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asseverations : in vain he endeavoured to contain his troops in order. Persuaded that he intended to annul the letter of majesty, the *defenders of liberty* armed all the Protestants of Bohemia, and Matthias was called into the country. After the dispersion of his Passau troops, the Emperor remained in Prague, guarded like a prisoner in his palace, and deprived of all his counsellors. Matthias was received in Prague with universal acclamations, and Rodolph soon after had the pusillanimity to acknowledge him King of Bohemia. So hard was his fate, that, during his life, he must abdicate, in favour of his enemy, a throne of which he envied him the possession, even after death. To complete his humiliation, he was compelled, by a personal renunciation, to absolve his subjects in Bohemia, Silesia, and Lusatia, from their allegiance. This last act cost him the most bitter anguish. On his signature of the instrument, he flung his hat on the ground, and broke the pen which had rendered him that shameful service.

Having once lost his hereditary dominions, the Imperial dignity was not better secured to him. Each of the religious parties into which Germany was divided made efforts to improve

its own interests, at the expense of the others, or defend itself against their attacks. The weaker the hands were which wielded the Imperial sceptre, the more the Protestants and Catholics were left at their own disposal, their attention to each other was confined, and their mutual distrust increased; it was sufficient that the Emperor reigned through Jesuits, and was governed by Spanish councils, to inspire the Protestants with terror, and afford them a pretext for hostility. The inconsiderate zeal of the Jesuits, which led them, in their publications and in the pulpit, to question the validity of the religious peace, further increased their suspicions, and gave even the most inconsiderable measures of the Catholics a dangerous appearance. Every step which was taken in the hereditary dominions of Austria to oppose the reformed religion excited the attention of all the German Protestants. This powerful support which the reformed confederates met with in Germany, or expected to find, chiefly occasioned their confidence, and the rapid good fortune of Matthias. The Empire generally imagined that the enjoyment of the religious treaty was owing to the troubles which reigned in the Emperor's territories, and consequently did

did not hasten to relieve him from his embarrassments.

Almost all the affairs of the diet were neglected, either by the carelessness of the Emperor, or the obstinacy of the Protestant states, which had resolved not to assist the Empire until their grievances were redressed. The grievances complained of were principally the bad administration of the Emperor, the infringement of the religious treaty, and the Aulic counsellor, who, under this administration, endeavoured to extend his authority at the expense of the Imperial chancellor. Formerly the Emperors had, of themselves in trifling matters, and with the consent of the princes in more important cases, finally decided all disputes between the states, or had them adjudged by Imperial judges. This prerogative they had, in the end of the fifteenth century, erected into a regular and permanent tribunal, the Council of Spires, to which the states of the Empire, to save themselves from the Emperor's oppression, reserved to themselves the privilege of nominating its assessors, and subjecting its decrees to occasional revision. This privilege, which was called the *right of presentation*, was by the religious treaty conceded to the Lutherans, so

that Protestant judges now sat in the courts of the Empire, and both religions, in this supreme tribunal, were placed upon an appearance of equality.

But the enemies of the Reformation, and of the liberties of the Empire, attending to every circumstance which favoured their designs, soon discovered the means of evading the beneficial effects of this establishment. By degrees it was contrived that a private tribunal, that of the Aulic Council at Vienna (originally intended to decide such cases as immediately concerned the Imperial prerogative, whose members were appointed by the Emperor, and were paid by him, whose immediate design it was to promote the interests of their master and of the Catholic religion), should dispense justice in the Empire. Several suits were now brought before the Aulic Council, between different religions, which properly belonged to the Council of Spire. It was not then surprising that the decisions of this tribunal betrayed its original intent, and that justice was sacrificed to the interests of the Catholic religion and those of the Emperor. Although it should appear that all Germany had cause to oppose such an abuse from the commencement, the Protestants alone,
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and even not all of these, came forward to defend the liberties of the Empire, which this arbitrary institution infringed in the most sacred point, that of the administration of justice. In fact, Germany could derive but little benefit from the abolition of feudal violence, and the institution of a tribunal of justice, if one entirely at the disposal of the Emperor was suffered to exist. The German states would have very little improved their condition from barbarous ages, if their courts of justice lay in the Emperor's power. But in that age men's sentiments displayed the most palpable contradictions. The title of Emperor, a remnant of Roman despotism, conveyed an idea of authority which formed a ridiculous contrast with the privileges of the states, but which was nevertheless adopted by lawyers, promoted by the friends of arbitrary power, and revered by the ignorant. It could not indeed be otherwise when one of the first Protestant powers in Germany was so infatuated as to harbour an opinion which tended to destroy fundamentally the constitution of the Empire.

To these general abuses were added a chain of circumstances which at length produced the utmost distrust among the Protestants. During
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the Spanish persecutions in the Netherlands some Protestant families had taken refuge in the Catholic Imperial city of Aix-la-Chapelle, where they had settled, and gradually extended their principles. After having by stratagem succeeded in introducing into the town-council some of their sect, they demanded a church and the free exercise of their religion; which, however, being refused them, they obtained it, together with the entire government of the city, by force. To have so considerable a city in the hands of Protestants was too severe a blow for the Emperor and the whole Catholic party. After the Emperor's orders and exhortations were unable to re-establish the former government, the Aulic Council, by a decree, proscribed the city; which proscription, however, was not enforced till the ensuing reign.

Two other events had a great effect in extending the power and authority of the Protestants. Truschsess of Waldburg, Elector of Cologne, conceived for the young Countess Agnes of Mansfeldt, Canoness of Girrisheim, an ardent passion, which was become mutual between them. As this attachment excited the attention of all Germany, the Canoness's brothers, two zealous Calvinists, insisted upon satisfaction for

the injured honour of their family, which, so long as the Elector remained a Catholic, could not be vindicated by a marriage. They threatened vengeance against their sister, and the Elector, if he did not either immediately desist from his addresses, or vindicate her reputation by marriage. The Elector, regardless of the consequences, yielded to the infatuation of love. Whether previously attached to the reformed religion, or whether it was love which effected this strange event, he renounced the Catholic faith, and led the beautiful Agnes to the altar.

This conversion was of the greatest importance. By the ecclesiastical law, the Elector, by his apostacy, had forfeited his electorate, and the power of executing these laws was of the greatest consequence to the Catholics. On the other hand, the sacrifice was the more severe for so affectionate a husband, who wished to enhance the value of his heart and his hand by the gift of a principality. Besides that the ecclesiastical regulations formed a disputed article in the treaty of Augsbourg, it was of the utmost importance for the Protestants of Germany to wrest this fourth electorate from the Catholics.

Catholics*. The Elector's example was followed in many chapters in the north of Germany. Several canons of Cologne already embraced the Protestant faith, and were of the Elector's party; and in that city he could depend upon a strong Protestant faction. These circumstances, enforced by the encouragement of his friends and relations, and the promises of several German courts, determined him to maintain his authority with his religion.

But it soon appeared that the Elector had engaged in a contest which he could not bring to a favourable conclusion. The Catholic states and chapters had already given the introduction of the Protestant religion into the electorate of Cologne the most violent opposition. The interference of the Emperor, and an anathema from Rome, which excommunicated the Elector as an apostate, and deprived him of his ecclesiastical, and secular authority, armed his own subjects and his chapter against him. Both sides assembled a military power; and the chapter, in order to increase their strength,

* Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate, were already Protestant, *Transf.*

proceeded to a new election, which terminated in favour of the Bishop of Liege, a prince of the House of Bavaria.

A civil war now commenced, that, from the interest which the different religious factions in Germany must necessarily have had in this event, was likely to cause a breach of the religious treaty. The Protestants were chiefly exasperated at the Pope's having presumed, by his apostolic power, to deprive a prince of the Empire of his authority. This privilege was denied the Pope, even in the golden days of papal darkness; and how much more so now, when he had lost so much of his authority, and his power was supported by such weak pillars? All the Protestant princes in Germany blamed the Emperor for this step; and Henry IV. of France, then king of Navarre, left no means of negotiation untried to recommend to the German princes the strenuous assertion of their rights. The liberty of Germany depended upon this circumstance: four Protestant against three Catholic voices in the electoral college must have transferred the superiority to the Protestant party, and for ever excluded the House of Austria from the Imperial throne.

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But the Elector of Cologne had embraced the reformed, not the Lutheran religion: and this circumstance caused his misfortune. The mutual animosity of both churches did not permit the Lutheran states to regard him of their party, and effectually to support him as such. He had been encouraged and promised assistance by all. John Cassimir, Count Palatine, a younger prince of the Palatinate, and a Calvinist, alone performed his promise. Notwithstanding the Imperial prohibition, he hastened with his small army into the territories of Cologne, but without effecting any thing considerable, because the Elector, pressed by his own necessities, was unable to afford him any assistance. The new-chosen Elector made effectual efforts on the contrary, being strongly supported by his Bavarian friends, and the Spaniards from the Netherlands. The deposed Elector's troops, left by their master without pay, surrendered one place after another to the enemy: others were taken by force. Gebhard held out still for some time in his Westphalian territories, but was at length compelled to yield. After vain attempts in Holland and England to effect his restoration, he retired into the chapter of Strasburg, and died dean of that cathedral; the first sacrifice to Catholic power,

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or rather to the want of harmony among the German Protestants.

From this dispute in Cologne arose a new one at Strasburg. Several members of the chapter of Cologne, who were also included in the papal anathemas, had fled to this bishopric, where they also enjoyed prebends. As the Catholic canons of the chapter of Strasburg endeavoured to molest them in the possession of their prebends, they maintained their possession by force; and a powerful support among the citizens of Strasburg, who were Protestants, soon obtained them the superiority in the chapter. The Catholic canons retired to Alsace-Saverne; where they continued the chapter as the only genuine one, and declared the other spurious; nevertheless the latter, strengthened by the accession of several powerful Protestant confederates, had the address, after the bishop's death, to postulate a new Protestant bishop in the person of Prince John George of Brandenburg. The Catholic canons, far from confirming this election, postulated the Bishop of Metz, a prince of Lorrain, who immediately announced it by hostilities against the territories of Strasburg.

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The city of Straßburg now took up arms in favour of the Protestant chapter; and the opposite party, desirous of seizing the effects of the church, advanced against them, assisted by the troops of Lorrain. This produced a tedious war, which, according to the spirit of the times, was attended with barbarous devastation. In vain did the Emperor interpose his authority to terminate the contest; the possession of both chapters remained a long time divided between them, until the Protestant prince at length, for a moderate pecuniary equivalent, relinquished his claim, and thus the Catholic party prevailed.

An event which soon after took place at Dunauwerth, a Suabian free city, was still more prejudicial to the Protestant interests. In this once Catholic city the Protestants, during the reign of Ferdinand and his son, had by their usual means obtained the superiority, and the Catholics were obliged to content themselves with a church in the monastery of the Holy Cross, where they were under the necessity of concealing their ceremonies from the jealousies of the Protestants. At length a fanatical abbot of this cloister ventured, in opposition to the people, to make a public procession, which was

preceded by the cross and flying colours; but he was soon compelled to abandon his design. This same abbot, encouraged by a favourable declaration of the Emperor, ventured a year after to renew this procession. A tumult was excited. The fanatical populace shut the gates against the monks on their return, threw their colours on the ground, and pursued them with reproaches and abuse. An Imperial citation was the consequence of this violence; and as the multitude even attempted to insult the Imperial commissaries, and no hope remained of a peaceable termination of this dispute, the city was put to the bann* of the Empire, the execution of which was entrusted to Maximilian Duke of Bavaria. The citizens, hitherto so bold, were seized with a panic on the approach of the Bavarian army, and laid down their arms without resistance. Their rebellion was punished with the total abolition of the Protestant religion within their walls. Donauwerth was deprived of its privileges, and, from a free Imperial city, became a municipal town of Bavaria.

* A civil excommunication pronounced against the refractory members of the Empire. *Transl.*

Even were the Protestants less attentive to the interests of their religion, two circumstances connected with this event must have excited their attention to the utmost. The Aulic council, an arbitrary and entirely Catholic tribunal, had pronounced this sentence, and had entrusted the execution of it to the Duke of Bavaria, the sovereign of another circle. This unconstitutional step threatened them with violent measures on the part of the Catholics, and they ascribed it to private schemes for the oppression of their religion.

In circumstances where strength prevails over justice, and where security depends upon strength, the weaker side are almost always the most eager to provide for their own defence. This was now the case in Germany. It was probable, according to the most rational calculation, that whatever attempt the Catholics had formed against the Protestants would be executed in the south rather than the north of Germany; because the northern Protestants possessed long tracts of country which could easily support each other; whereas those of the south were in detached parts, surrounded by Catholic states, and exposed to every inroad. Besides, as was to be expected if the Catholics took

took advantage of the interior divisions, and directed their attack against the religious party, the Calvinists were the weakest, and being also excluded from the religious treaty, they stood in danger of falling upon the first attack.

Both these circumstances took place in the Palatinate, which possessed a dangerous neighbour in the Duke of Bavaria, and, by reason of its embracing Calvinism, was excluded from the benefit of the religious treaty, and had little hope of succour from the Lutherans. No country in Germany had undergone such a rapid revolution in its religion as the Palatinate at that period. In the short space of sixty years that unhappy country was seen twice to adopt Luther's doctrines, and as often exchanged them for Calvinism. The Elector Frederic III. relinquished the confession of Augsburg, which his son and successor Lewis rapidly re-established; throughout the whole country the Calvinists were deprived of their churches; their preachers, and even their teachers, were conducted to the frontiers; and this zealous prince even persecuted them in his will, by appointing none except strict Lutherans as guardians to his children. But this unjust will was laid aside by his brother the Count

Palatine, John Cassimir, who, according to the regulations of the golden bull, took upon himself the guardianship, and assumed the regency. Calvinist instructors were appointed to the Elector Frederic IV. then only nine years old, and they were ordered to use personal chastisement, if necessary, in eradicating his Protestant doctrines.—If such was the treatment of the sovereign, that of the subject may be easily conceived.

It was under this Frederic that the Palatine court made great efforts to unite the German Protestants, and form them into a confederacy against the House of Austria. Besides that this court lay under the direction of France, which was always animated by a hatred against Austria, he was induced to provide for his own security, and that of his religion, against a powerful and superior enemy. But great difficulties were opposed to this confederacy: the dislike of the Lutherans against the Calvinists being scarcely less than their common hatred against the Papists. An union of the two religions was therefore attempted, in order to prepare for the confederacy: but all attempts failed, and had no other effect than to confirm both sects in their respective opinions. Nothing

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now remained but, by exciting fear and distrust among the Lutherans, to prevail upon them by necessity to enter this confederacy. The power of the Catholics and the greatness of the danger were magnified; accidental incidents were ascribed to deliberate plans; innocent actions, by over-cautious constructions, were misrepresented; and the whole conduct of the Catholics was ascribed to a systematic plan of hostility, of which the latter did not probably entertain an idea. No rumour was so improbable, no accusation so detestable, as not to be credited: even though the Catholics intended to infringe the religious treaty (and it was in their power), that peace was guaranteed by their veneration for it. But the Protestants appeared to apprehend what they merited.

The diet of Ratibon, in which the Protestants hoped to obtain a renewal of the religious treaty, was dissolved without any determination, and to their former vexations were added the new oppression of Donauwerth. The long-sought confederacy at length took place. A meeting was held at Anhausen in Franconia, in 1608, at which appeared the Elector Palatine, Frederic IV. the Count Palatine of Neuburg, two Margraves of Brandenburg, the

Margrave of Baden, and John Frederic Duke of Wirtemberg; Lutherans with Calvinists; and they established for themselves and their heirs a close confederacy under the title of the *Evangelic Union*. The purport of this union was, that in religious matters as well as in their civil rights the princes were engaged to assist each other mutually, and permit no individual oppression; that any member of the Union, when attacked, should be assisted by the rest; that his territories, towns, and castles should be opened to them; and that whatever conquests were made should be divided among the whole, according to the quota furnished by each.

The direction of the whole confederacy was conferred in peace on the Elector Palatine, but with a limited authority: subsidies were demanded to defray the expenses, and a fund was established. No difference of religions (viz. between Lutherans and Calvinists) was to affect the Union; and its validity was to endure for ten years. Each member was, from the commencement, engaged to procure new confederates. Brandenburg declared for it, and Saxony favoured the Union. Hesse-Cassel could not be prevailed upon to declare itself; Brunswic and Lunenburg

Lunenburg also hesitated : but the three Imperial cities, Strasburg, Nuremburg, and Ulm, were no unimportant acquisition to a league which stood in need of pecuniary aid ; and it was probable that their example would be followed by several of the other Imperial cities.

These united states, singly dejected and of small importance, now assumed a more firm tone. They directed Prince Christian of Anhalt to lay their grievances and demands before the Emperor ; which principally consisted in the restoration of Donauwerth, the abolition of the prosecution of the court, the Emperor's own administration, and the conduct of his counsellors. They made these remonstrances at a period when the Emperor had scarce recovered from the troubles which had been occasioned in his hereditary dominions ; when he had lost to Matthias, Austria and Hungary, and barely saved his Bohemian crown by the *letter of majesty* ; and when a new contest was raised about the succession of Juliers. It was not surprising that this tardy prince was now less active than ever, and that the confederates took up arms sooner than the Emperor had foreseen.

The Catholics viewed this confederacy with a suspicious eye: the members of the latter were alike suspicious of the Catholics and the Emperor, who was equally jealous of both: and on all sides apprehension and animosity had reached the greatest height. To complete this embarrassment, at this very conjuncture the death of John William Duke of Juliers occasioned a disputed succession for the territories of Cleves and Juliers.

Eight competitors laid claims to this succession, whose individuality^{al} was guaranteed by the most solemn treaties; and the Emperor, if disposed to consider it as entirely vacant, could become the ninth. Four claimants, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Count Palatine of Neuburg, that of Deuxponts, and the Margrave of Burgau, an Austrian prince, claimed it as a dower in behalf of four princesses, sisters to the deceased Duke. Two others, the Elector of Saxony, of the line of Albert, and the Duke of Saxony, of the line of Ernest, laid claims to it from a prior survivorship, which was confirmed to them by the Emperors Frederic III. and Maximilian I. The claims of foreign princes were not regarded. The fairest lay on the side of Brandenburg and Neuburg, and both

both appeared equally favoured by circumstances. Each hastened to take possession of the inheritance: Brandenburg began, and Neuburg followed its example; both commenced their dispute with the pen, and would probably have terminated it with the sword; but the interference of the Emperor, to bring this suit under his own decision, while he in the mean time sequestrated the disputed territories, brought the competitors to a speedy agreement in order to avert the common danger. It was resolved to govern the dutchy in common. In vain did the Emperor order the estates not to do homage to the new sovereigns; in vain did he send one of his relations, the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau, into the country in order to give weight to the Imperial party by his presence. The whole country, except Juliers, had submitted to the Protestant princes, and the Emperor's adherents were besieged in that capital.

This dispute was of importance to the Empire, and excited the attention of several European states. The possession of Juliers was of itself not of so much consequence: but the question was, which of the parties into which Germany was divided, the Protestant or Catholic,

tholic, should obtain the superiority by so considerable an accession to their power. It was now to be seen whether Austria would persevere in its usurpations, and indulge its thirst for dominion, by a new act of violence, or whether the independent powers of Germany were capable of resisting those usurpations. The succession of Juliers consequently interested all the powers which favoured liberty, or were hostile to Austria. The Evangelic Union, Holland, England, but principally Henry IV. of France, interposed upon this occasion.

This monarch, the flower of whose age was passed in opposition to the House of Austria, and who by the admirable perseverance of a hero had surmounted all the obstacles which that House had thrown in his way to the French throne, had already been no inactive spectator of the troubles in Germany. It was even this dispute of the states with the Emperor which produced the peace in France. The Protestants and Turks formed a strong counterpoise to the Austrian power, on its eastern and western frontier : but it would be restored to its former greatness, if suffered to elude this constraint. Henry IV. had, during half a century, an uninterrupted example of Austria's usurpations

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and-thirst for power, which neither adverse fortune nor pusillanimity, that commonly depresses all the human passions, could extinguish in a bosom in which flowed a drop of the blood of Ferdinand of Arragon. Even in the weakest of the race of Habsburg this passion was strong; this inclination was boundless in its most confined characters, and tarnished the lustre of its few virtuous princes. The usurpations of Austria had, during a century, deprived all Europe of its peace, and caused in the interior of its principal states the most violent revolutions. It had deprived the field of the husbandman, the manufactory of the artist, covered the country with numerous armies, and the seas with hostile fleets. It had reduced the European princes to the unhappy necessity of loading their subjects with excessive imposts, and of exhausting the strength of their dominions in defending them. Europe could enjoy no repose, its states no prosperity, no permanent plan could be formed for the happiness of the people, so long as this dangerous race was permitted to disturb its tranquillity; and it was much to be feared that the ambition of this House would survive its power. Even in its exhausted situation, which threatened it with ruin, it cost the confederacy thousands
of

of lives and millions of money to confine its ambition within bounds. What great and noble design could be executed? how much could the happiness of all ranks be promoted by the exertions which were now ingloriously and ineffectually expended to guard the House of Habsburg*?

Such considerations aroused Henry at the close of his glorious career. What pains had it cost him to dispel the cloud which a long civil war, excited and fomented by Austria, had occasioned in France! Every great soul labours for immortality; what then could guarantee to this prince the prosperity in which he left France, while Austria and Spain remained united, and while, though now weakened, a fortunate accident was only wanting to render them as formidable as ever? In order to leave his successor the firm possession of the throne, and secure to his people a durable peace, this power must be destroyed, and precautions taken against its re-establishment. From this source flowed

* The House of Austria is descended from the Counts of this name, a family of no great note. By the Empress Maria Teresa's marriage with the Duke of Lorraine, it has been united with one of the most illustrious Houses in Europe,
T. ansf.

the irreconcilable hatred which led Henry IV. to swear unextinguishable, ardent, and just vengeance against the House of Austria, like Hannibal's antipathy against the Romans, but arising from nobler sentiments.

The different powers of Europe had this provocation in common with Henry; but they possessed not that enlightened policy, that disinterested courage to act accordingly. Mankind are almost without exemption captivated with immediate advantages; great souls alone are excited by distant prospects. So long as prudence depends upon itself, or relies upon its own resources, it rejects nothing but chimerical plans; and while it sometimes exposes itself to the ridicule of the world, it ensures success when its plan is directed to destroy barbarian avarice and superstition, and when private interests enable it to promote its laudable purposes.

In the first consideration, Henry's project to drive the House of Austria from all its possessions, and divide its conquests among the European powers, deserved the name of chimerical, which mankind are in general so liberal in bestowing: but did it merit this appellation in

in the second? This excellent king could not flatter himself that the promoters of this design were inspired with the same sentiments which actuated himself and his minister Sully. The states whose co-operation was wanting, were forced by the most pressing political considerations to engage in this scheme; from the Austrian Protestants nothing was required but what they already seemed to aim at, their deliverance from the Austrian yoke; from the Flemings, nothing but a similar deliverance from the Spaniards. It was of the utmost importance to the Pope and the republics of Italy to remove effectually the Spanish tyranny from their territories; to England, nothing could be more pleasing than to be delivered from its most bitter enemy. Each power acquired, by this division of Austria's usurped conquests, either territory or independence, new property, or security for its old; and while each was indemnified, the balance of power was still unviolated. France could with magnanimity renounce all claim to indemnification, as it doubly profited by Austria's ruin, and was the more powerful by not seeking any other advantage. The posterity of Habsburg were at length permitted to expose their designs both to past and future worlds. Austria was only saved by
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the knife of Ravallac, in order to postpone the tranquillity of Europe for centuries.

Attentive to this scheme, Henry must naturally have immediately interfered with the Evangelic Union in Germany, and in the succession of Juliers. His emissaries were busy in all the Protestant courts of Germany; and the hints which they sparingly gave of the intention of their monarch, were destined to gain proselytes, who were equally incensed against the House of Austria, and desirous of aggrandizing themselves. Henry's policy brought the Union to a still closer connexion, and the assistance which he promised them raised to the utmost the hopes of the confederates. A numerous French army, commanded by the King in person, was destined to join the troops of the Union on the Rhine, and first to assist them in conquering Cleves and Juliers; after which they were to proceed to Italy, where Savoy, Venice, and Rome, had formed a confederacy to overthrow the Spanish throne. These victorious armies were then to fall into the Austrian territories, and there, favoured by an universal insurrection, to destroy the power of Austria in Hungary, Bohemia, and Transylvania. The people of Holland and Brabant had already, with the assistance of
France,

France, delivered themselves from Spanish tyranny; and this furious torrent, which had overflowed its banks, and threatened to bury the European liberties under its waves, now flowed quiet and forgotten behind the Pyrenean mountains.

The French were long famous for their activity, but on this occasion they were overreached by the Germans. An army of the confederates entered Alsace before Henry had made his appearance there, and a corps of Austrians which the Bishop of Passau and Strasburg had assembled there to advance against Juliers, was dispersed. Henry IV. had formed his plan as a statesman and a king, but he consigned its execution to plunderers. According to his ideas, none of the Catholic states could take umbrage at these preparations, or would espouse Austria's quarrel. Religion was to have no share in this dispute; but it was by no means probable that the German princes would lose sight of their own interests in the execution of Henry's schemes. Excited by ambition and religious animosity, was it not natural for them to gratify their ruling passions whenever they found an opportunity? They entered the territories of the ecclesiastical princes like maraud-

ers, and always took up their quarters in those rich countries, though ever so far out of their way. As if in an enemy's territory, they raised contributions, seized upon the revenues, and exacted by force what was not voluntarily given to them. Not to leave the Catholics in suspense as to the intent of this expedition, the latter were plainly given to understand, that it was destined to decide the fate of the possessions of the Catholic church. So little good intelligence reigned between Henry and the German princes in their plan of operations, and so much was this excellent king deceived in the instruments he employed. It is an observation confirmed by experience, that an act of violence, directed by prudence, should never be left to violence to enforce; and that the violation of good order should only be entrusted to those who hold it sacred.

The conduct of the confederates, resented even by several of the Protestant states, and the apprehensions which the Catholics began to entertain of a still worse treatment, did not permit them to behold it with silent indignation. The authority of the Emperor was at too low an ebb to protect them against such an enemy; the union of the confederates was what

rendered them so formidable, and this union must now be opposed by another.

The Bishop of Wirtzburg drew the plan of this Catholic union, which was distinguished from that of the Protestants by the denomination of *The League*. It principally consisted of bishops, and the grounds of it were the same with those of the Union. At its head was Maximilian Duke of Bavaria, the only secular member of importance, but furnished with much greater powers than the Protestant confederates had granted to their chief. From this circumstance it arose, that the Duke of Bavaria, being commander in chief of the troops of the League, their operations had a superior force and activity, and supplies were obtained from the rich prelates with much more ease than the Protestants could obtain them from their poorer adherents. Without Imperial aid as a Catholic state, without even communicating their designs to the Emperor, the Catholic League appeared suddenly firm and formidable, with force sufficient to crush the Protestant Union, and to sustain itself under three Emperors. Though the League espoused the Emperor's quarrel, as an enemy to the Protestants, they soon became formidable to himself.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile the arms of the confederates were successful in Cleves and Juliers : Juliers was blockaded, and the entire bishopric of Strasburg in their power. But this was the conclusion of their triumphs. No French army appeared on the Rhine, because its destined leader, and the soul of the whole undertaking, Henry IV. was now no more; their supplies were gradually expended, and the states hesitated to grant new subsidies; while the free cities were offended that their money was always demanded, but never their advice. They were particularly exasperated at being exposed to expense by the expedition of Juliers, which was expressly excluded from the affairs of the Union; that the united princes bestowed large pensions out of the common treasure; and principally, that the expenditure of the money was not accounted for.

Thus did the Union verge towards its fall, at the moment when the League, with accumulated strength, opposed it. The confederates could no longer keep the field from their want of money, and it was dangerous to lay down their arms in the presence of a formidable enemy. To secure themselves in one quarter, however, they concluded a treaty with their

old enemy, the Archduke Leopold, and both parties agreed to withdraw their troops from Alsace, to release the prisoners, and forget the past violences on both sides. Thus ended all their boasted preparations.

The imperious tone in which the confederates, confiding in their strength, had addressed the German Catholics, was now retorted upon themselves and their troops; their own steps were followed, and they were branded with the severest epithets. The chapters of Wirtzburg, Bamberg, Strasburg, Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, had suffered from their ravages; all these losses were to be indemnified, and the free navigation of the Rhine, which the Protestants had also seized, was to be restored to its former footing. The Unionists were required to give an unequivocal answer concerning the intent of their confederacy; they were now in their turn obliged to yield to superior force; they had not expected so formidable an enemy, but they taught the Catholics the secret of their own strength; their pride was hurt in being obliged to sue for a peace which, however, they were fortunate in obtaining; the one side promised restitution, the other an indemnity; all laid down their arms; the tumult of war suddenly

suddenly ceased, and a temporary calm succeeded. It was at this period the insurrection broke out in Bohemia, which cost the Emperor his hereditary dominions; but neither the Union nor the League interfered with these disturbances.

At length the Emperor died in 1612, as little remembered in his grave as he had been respected on the throne. The miseries of the following reigns, however, effaced the remembrance of those which his reign had caused, and added a lustre to his memory; and such was the condition to which Germany was reduced, that even this Emperor was in the conclusion very bitterly regretted.

Rodolph could not be prevailed upon to elect a successor, and all minds were filled with apprehensions by the approaching vacancy of the throne; but, contrary to expectation, Matthias took speedy and peaceable possession of it. The Catholics supported him, because they formed great expectations from the activity of this prince; the Protestants followed their example, from the hopes they conceived of his weakness. It is not difficult to reconcile these

contradictions; the one judged from his former, the other from his actual disposition.

The moment of a new succession is commonly that of ardent hopes, and in elective crowns a king's first diet is commonly the most severe; every old grievance is introduced, and new ones are sought to include them in the expected reform. The services which the Protestants had rendered Matthias in his rebellion, were still fresh in the minds of the confederates, and the price which they exacted for them now, served as an example worthy of imitation.

It was by favouring the Protestants in Austria and Moravia, that Matthias had actually obtained the throne; but, blinded by his ambition, he never considered that by these means also, the Protestant states were enabled to give law to their sovereign. This discovery soon aroused him from the intoxication of success. No sooner after his accession to the crown of Bohemia had he appeared among his Austrian subjects, than demands awaited him which were calculated to disgust him with his exaltation. Previous to their rendering homage, they required an unlimited toleration of their religion in

in the cities and market-towns, a perfect equality with the Catholics, and an equal claim to all offices in the state. In several places they assumed these privileges of themselves, and restored the Protestant religion, from confidence in the new administration, where it had been suppressed by the Emperor. Matthias had not already scrupled to make use of the grievances of the Protestants against the Emperor, but it was by no means his intention to exalt that sect. By a firm and decisive tone he hoped to suppress these demands in the commencement; he spoke of his hereditary title to his dominions, and would hearken to no terms previous to his consecration: the same unconditional homage had been yielded by their neighbours, the inhabitants of Styria, to the Archduke Ferdinand; but they had soon reason to repent. Taught by this example, the states of Austria persisted in their claims. To avoid compulsion they left the capital, invited the Catholics to a similar resistance, and began to levy troops; they took steps to renew their old alliance with the Hungarians, drew the Protestant princes into their interests, and seriously prepared to establish their claims by force of arms.

Matthias had not hesitated to comply with the far more exorbitant demands of the Hungarians; but Hungary was an elective kingdom, and the republican form of its constitution justified the claims of the states, as also his concession to them before the Catholic League. On the contrary, in Austria his predecessors had exercised much greater prerogatives; these he could not relinquish to the states without disgracing himself in the eyes of all the Catholics in Europe, exciting the enmity of Spain and Rome, and loading himself with the contempt of his own Catholic subjects. His more severe Catholic counsellors, of whom Melchior Klefel, Bishop of Vienna, was the principal, exhorted him, sooner than yield to the Protestants, to deprive them by force of all their churches.

But unfortunately this circumstance occurred at a period when the Emperor Rodolph still lived, and was a spectator of those disputes, when the latter might have turned his own weapon against him, that of exciting the subject to revolt. To avoid this blow, Matthias accepted the offer which the states of Moravia made of becoming mediators between him and the Austrians. A committee of both states
assembled



assembled at Vienna, where the Austrian deputies held a language which would have excited surprise in an English parliament, even in Cromwell's time*. "The Protestants," said they, "will not be worse treated than the few Catholics in the country. It was by his Protestant nobility that Matthias overcame the Emperor; where eighty Papists were found, three hundred Protestant barons might be reckoned. The example of Rodolph should be a warning to Matthias; he should beware of not too speedily relinquishing the goods of this life for those of the other." As the states of Moravia, instead of using their privilege as mediators for the Emperor's benefit, at length embraced the cause of the Austrian Protestants, as the Union in Germany prepared vigorously to support them, and as Matthias feared reprisals on the part of the Emperor, he was at length compelled to make the desired declaration in behalf of the Protestants.

* Had the author been more intimately acquainted with the English history, he would have found it difficult to say what sort of language would have appeared strange in one of Cromwell's parliaments: that of common sense was perhaps the scarcest. *Trans.*

Such

Such behaviour of the Austrian states to their Archduke, served as an example to the German Protestants in their transactions with the Emperor, and promised them similar success. At the first diet at Ratisbon in 1613, where the most pressing affairs demanded immediate decision—a war against the Turks, and against Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transilvania, who by Turkish aid had usurped that country, and even threatened Hungary; under all these circumstances, which required a prompt and general contribution, the Protestants, to the astonishment of all, suddenly advanced claims entirely new. The Catholics still retained the most votes among the princes; and as every matter was decided by a plurality of voices, the Protestants, however they might be united, could not rival them. The Catholics must now renounce this advantage, and in future no one religious sect must possess the privilege of outweighing the other by its majority of voices. In fact, as the Protestant religion was represented in the diet, it was to be understood that the constitution of this assembly should not prevent them from making use of that privilege. Complaints against the usurped jurisdiction of the Aulic council accompanied these demands, and the deputies of the states received

received orders to abstain from all general deliberations until they obtained a categorical answer to this preliminary article.

The diet was torn by these divisions which threatened the general measures. However sincerely the Emperor wished to maintain a balance between both religions, after the example of his father Maximilian, the present conduct of the Protestants left him only a serious alternative. His necessities required a general subsidy, and he could not attach to himself the one party without becoming obnoxious to the other. Unsupported in his hereditary dominions, a war with the Protestants was too serious an undertaking. But the eyes of the Catholic world, which were fixed on the resolution he would now embrace; the remonstrances of the Catholic states, and those of Rome and the court of Spain, rendered it equally impossible for him to favour the Protestants at the expense of the Catholic religion. The interests of the Catholics were closely connected with the Emperor's authority; and, were these abandoned, the ecclesiastical princes in particular enjoyed no further protection against their enemies.

Perceiving

Perceiving the Emperor undecided, they thought the period at length arrived, when it was necessary to relieve his despondency. They accordingly communicated to him the secret of their league, its nature, its strength and resources. Discouraging as such a discovery might be to the Emperor, the prospect of so powerful a succour gave him greater courage to oppose the Protestants; their demands were rejected, and the diet broke up without coming to a decision. But Matthias was himself the sufferer in this quarrel. The Protestants withdrew from him their aid, and left him, though innocent, to feel the inflexibility of the Catholics.

Meanwhile the cessation of hostilities with the Turks approached to a conclusion, their conduct became more suspicious, and an armament against them was necessary; the resources which the Emperor could not command among the states of the Empire, he was obliged to wrest from his own. These were divided into the same religious parties, and actuated by the same spirit of discontent, as the states of the Empire; so that the Emperor had equal difficulties still to surmount: no one province of the Austrian monarchy would come to
any

any resolution without consent of the other; and a general diet of these states might soon be converted into a dangerous confederacy against the Emperor. But at length imperious necessity compelled him to assemble the states of Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, &c. at Lintz. The Emperor left no effort untried to convince them of the necessity of a war with the Turks; but when a final resolution was wanting, the deputies had no instructions. This Austrian diet ended as fruitlessly as that of the Empire, and the Emperor's good fortune alone extricated him from his difficulties. The Turks appeared willing to prolong the cessation of hostilities, and Bethlen Gabor was left in quiet possession of Transilvania. The Empire was now secured against foreign danger, and it still enjoyed peace notwithstanding its interior divisions. The succession of Juliers received, from an unexpected accident, a sudden turn. This duchy was still ruled in common by the Electoral House of Brandenburg, and the Count Palatine of Neuburg; a marriage between the Prince of Neuburg and a Princess of Brandenburg was to have inseparably united the interests of both Houses. But this plan was frustrated by a box on the ear, which the Elector of Brandenburg, when intoxicated, gave his intended son-in-law.

This

This terminated the good understanding between both Houses; the Prince of Neuburg embraced popery; a Princess of Bavaria was the reward of his apostacy, and the support of Bavaria and Spain, the natural consequences of both. To put him in full possession of the territories of Juliers, the Spanish troops marched from the Netherlands. To rid himself of these guests, the Elector called the Dutch to his assistance, whose affections he expected to secure by having embraced the Presbyterian religion. Spanish and Dutch armies appeared, but, as was soon perceived, only to make their own conquests.

The war in the Netherlands seemed ready to be decided in Germany; and what combustibles were not prepared in this latter Empire already! The Protestants, with consternation, beheld the Spaniards establish themselves on the Lower Rhine; the Catholics, with still greater fears, saw the Dutch enter the territories of the Empire. It is peculiar to religious wars to respect no boundaries of territory, to endeavour to extend themselves in every country, because in every country they possess friends and foes, where they are only exhausted by the entire annihilation of their adherents. The storm

which ravaged Germany appeared to gather in the west; consternation and anxiety were directed to that quarter, but the first blow was struck to the eastward.

The tranquillity which Rodolph II.'s *letter of majesty* had established in Bohemia, lasted under the administration of Matthias for some time, until a new heir to this kingdom was appointed in the person of Ferdinand of Gratz.

This prince, afterwards better known under the title of Ferdinand II. Emperor of Germany, had shown himself, by the extirpation of the Protestant religion in his territories, an inveterate zealot for popery, and was consequently regarded by the Catholic party of Bohemia as its most firm future support. The Emperor's declining state of health, and their confidence of so powerful a support, encouraged the Bohemian Catholics to treat the Protestants with great insolence. The Protestant vassals of the Catholic nobility received in particular the hardest usage; at the same time many of the Catholics were so imprudent as to express their hopes, and by their threats to excite among the Protestants a distrust of their future sovereign. But this distrust would never have
broke

broke out into open violence, if particular attacks had not encouraged enterprising chiefs.

Henry Matthias, Count Thurn, not a native of Bohemia, but proprietor of some estates in that kingdom, had, by his zeal for the Protestant religion, and his enthusiastic love for his newly adopted country, gained an entire confidence among the Utraquists, and this procured him the greatest authority among them. He had served with reputation against the Turks, and by a flattering address he had obtained the esteem of the multitude; an ardent impetuous disposition inclined him to revolutions, where he could display his talents: bold and thoughtless to undertake schemes which a more prudent disposition would have rejected, he was sufficiently rash to indulge his passions at the expense of thousands of lives, and sufficiently artful to acquire an entire ascendancy over the Bohemians in their present situation; he had already taken the greatest share in the troubles of Rodolph's administration, and the *letter of majesty* obtained from this Emperor was principally owing to him. The Court had entrusted to him the charter, and the guardianship of the liberties of Bohemia, as Burgrave of Carlstein; but the nation conferred on him a more important

ant prerogative, that of defender of its faith. The aristocracy, which governed the Emperor, imprudently attentive to trifling circumstances, while they overlooked those of greater moment, deprived this nobleman of his office of burgrave, by which he was rendered independent of the court, and his attention directed to the importance of his other title : while his pride was offended, and his ambition deprived of all its dangerous appearances. From this period he was governed only by envy and a spirit of revenge ; and a favourable opportunity soon presented itself to gratify his resentment.

In the *letter of majesty* which the Bohemians obtained from Rodolph II. a principal article remained undecided. Every privilege which this granted the Protestants was enjoyed only by the nobility and the proprietors of estates ; and the vassals in ecclesiastical territories had only obtained an uncertain toleration. The *letter of majesty* also made mention only of the states and the borough-towns, whose magistrates had the address to procure themselves equal privileges with the nobility. To these only it was permitted to build schools and churches, and to exercise their religion : in all other towns the toleration of Protestantism was left entirely at

the discretion of the states. The German states, particularly the secular, had used this privilege without reserve: the ecclesiastical states, restrained by a proclamation of the Emperor Ferdinand, had opposed this restriction. In the religious peace the disputed points were left equally undecided as in the *letter of majesty*; and though in the former the conditions were more explicit, it was uncertain whether they would be obeyed; in the latter the whole interpretation was left to the states. The vassals of Catholic estates in Bohemia thought themselves entitled to equal privileges with those granted to the subjects of German bishops in Ferdinand's declaration; they esteemed themselves on a footing with the borough-towns, because equally belonging with the latter to the royal domains. In the little town of Klostergrab, subject to the Archbishop of Prague, and in Brunau, which is under the abbot of that monastery, the Protestants laid the foundation of churches, and notwithstanding the opposition of their proprietors, and the Emperor's disapprobation, completed them.

In the mean time the vigilance of the defenders of liberty began to relax, and the court imagined it could make some attempt of importance.

portance. By the Emperor's orders the church at Klostergrab was demolished, that at Brunau forcibly shut up, and the most turbulent of the citizens were thrown into prison. An universal commotion among the Protestants was the consequence of this step: the violation of the *letter of majesty* was loudly exclaimed against; and Count Thurn, who, from his quality of *defender of liberty*, was in some measure required and excited by a spirit of revenge, was busily occupied in fomenting the general discontent. At his incitation a meeting of deputies was called from every circle in the kingdom to concert measures against the common danger. It was here resolved to petition the Emperor to release the prisoners. The Emperor's reply, which offended the states by being addressed to his deputy, not to them, reproached them with refractory and rebellious conduct, justified the action at Klostergrab and Brunau by an Imperial mandate, and contained some threatening passages. Count Thurn did not fail to increase the bad effect which this Imperial edict had upon the states. He pointed out to them the danger to which all those who signed the petition were exposed, and by fears and animosity endeavoured to excite them to the most violent

resolutions. To rise in arms against the Emperor was as yet too bold a step: by degrees, however, he led them to it. For this purpose he laid first the blame upon the Emperor's counsellors, and spread a report that the proclamation was composed by the government of Prague, and only signed in Vienna. The public hatred was principally directed to the Imperial deputy Slavata, who was president of the council, and Baron Martinitz, who, in the place of Count Thurn, was elected Burgrave of Carlstein. Both these noblemen had already afforded cause of suspicion to the Protestants, by refusing to assist at the debate in which the *letter of majesty* was registered. Threats were now uttered to render them answerable for every breach of this letter, and all the future sufferings of the Protestants were not without reason attributed to them. Among all the Catholic proprietors of estates these acted with most severity against their Protestant vassals. They were accused of hunting the latter with dogs into the mass, and forcing them, by a renunciation of baptism, marriage, and the funeral service, to embrace popery. Two such hated objects were soon defined as a sacrifice to public odium.

On the 23d of May 1618, the deputies assembled in arms, and in great numbers, at the Emperor's palace, and forcibly entered the room where the members of the regency, Sternburg, Martinitz, Lobkowitz, and Slavata, were sitting. With a threatening tone they required a declaration from each of them whether they had a share in the Emperor's proclamation, or had given their consent to it. Sternburg received them with moderation, Martinitz answered with disdain:—this decided their fate. Sternburg and Lobkowitz, less hated and more dreaded, were shown out of the room; while Slavata and Martinitz were dragged to a window, and flung into a ditch eighty feet deep. The secretary Fabricius, a creature of both, was thrown after them. This violent action excited the attention of all civilized nations. The Bohemians justified it as a national custom, and found nothing so surprising as the little mischief which it caused the sufferers. A dunghill, on which they fell, had saved their lives.

This rash action, as might be expected, could not ingratiate them with the Emperor: but Count Thurn was rejoiced to see matters come to this length. Having once ventured upon this step, the states must commit still

greater crimes to ensure their own safety. By this act of violence every way to negotiation was shut up, and one crime rendered a chain of others indispensable. To justify the fact, the reigning power must be disarmed. Thirty directors were appointed to commence a regular insurrection. All the revenues and offices of the army and of the crown were immediately seized, and the whole Bohemian nation summoned to vindicate their common cause. The Jesuits, who were regarded as the authors of all their grievances, were banished; and the states found it necessary to justify this measure by a formal declaration. All these steps were taken for the better maintenance of the royal authority and the laws; the usual pretext of all fortunate rebels*.

The emotion which the Bohemian rebellion excited at the Imperial court was not so violent as might be expected. The Emperor Matthias no longer possessed that resolution which he had formerly displayed against his sovereign, in depriving him of three crowns. The prudent

* This example was followed some years after by the parliament of Charles I. The artifice of using the king's name and authority against himself was not therefore a new expedient, as Mr. Hume imagines. *Transf.*

courage he had displayed in his usurpation forsook him in his defence of his possessions. The Bohemian rebels having risen in arms, the consequences were such as might be expected by his following their example. But he could not hope to confine the war to Bohemia: the Protestants formed a powerful party in his territories; their common danger might soon unite them in a powerful republic. If the Protestants in his territories united against him, what opposition could he make? Besides that both parties exhausted themselves in a civil war, every thing was lost by a defeat; and a victory over his own subjects could not be productive of advantage.

Considerations of this nature inclined the Emperor and his council to pacific measures: but others attributed to these measures the succeeding evils. Archduke Ferdinand of Gratz rather congratulated the Emperor upon an event which justified the utmost severity against the Protestants in the eyes of all Europe: "Disobedience, violence, and insurrection," it was said, "were always connected with Protestantism. Every privilege which the states had obtained from the present and former Emperors had no other effect than that of

“ increasing their demands. Their attempts
“ were manifestly directed against government,
“ and the heretics proceeded from one step to
“ another to the last act of violence: their
“ next attack would be against the person of
“ the Emperor. What had hitherto been suf-
“ fered was only a just punishment for the
“ lenity with which they had been treated;
“ their present rebellion was a divine work to
“ fulfil the measure of their crimes, and ex-
“ haust the patience of their rulers. Such an
“ enemy was to be treated with only in arms.
“ Peace was to be established only by the
“ total abolition of their dangerous privileges:
“ —it was in the ruin of this sect that the
“ Catholics were to look for security. The
“ event of the war was truly doubtful, but in-
“ evitable ruin was the consequence of not en-
“ gaging in it. The forfeiture of the rebel
“ estates would defray the expenses, and the
“ example of executions would effectually ter-
“ rify the other states.”

Against such measures it was just that the
Protestants of Bohemia should take up arms.
The insurrection was immediately directed, not
against the Emperor himself, who remained
inactive, but against his presumptive heir. To
exclude

exclude this prince from the throne of Bohemia its inhabitants took up arms even under Matthias; so long, however, as this Emperor lived they contained themselves within bounds.

But having once begun the insurrection, the Emperor could not, consistently with his dignity, sue for peace. Spain offered subsidies, and promised to support him with troops from Italy and the Netherlands; Count Bucquoi, a native of Flanders, was appointed generalissimo of the Imperial troops, because no native could be trusted; and Dampierre, another foreigner, commanded under him. Before this army was put in motion the Emperor justified his conduct by a manifesto. In this he assured the Bohemians “ he had never formed any design
“ against their liberties; that he held sacred
“ the *letter of majesty*; and that their insurrec-
“ tion alone forced him to extremities: that
“ he would disband his army so soon as the
“ Bohemians laid down their arms.” This moderate declaration failed in its purpose, because the chief insurgents concealed from their followers the Emperor’s good intentions. Instead of this, the pulpits and public prints resounded with vague rumours and fears of a renewal of the scene of St. Bartholomew’s night, which

which existed only in their own imaginations. All Bohemia, except three towns, Budweis, Krummau, and Pilsen, were concerned in the insurrection. These three towns, chiefly composed of Catholics, had alone the courage to hold out for the Emperor, who promised them succour : but to leave places of such importance in the enemies hands, by which the kingdom was at all times left open, was a danger too great to escape the vigilance of Count Thurn ; he appeared suddenly before Budweis and Krummau, and expected to force them by terror to surrender : Krummau yielded, but Budweis obstinately resisted his attacks.

The Emperor now began to display activity and resolution in his operations. Bucquoi and Dampierre, at the head of two armies, fell into Bohemia, which they treated as an enemy's country : but the Imperial generals found the road to Prague was attended with more difficulties than they expected ; every pass and position they were obliged to gain by force, and the resistance was increased by the outrages of their troops, consisting principally of Walloons and Hungarians, which converted their friends into enemies. But while his troops entered Bohemia, the Emperor was still inclined to pacific

cific measures. The rebels were excited by new hopes. The states of Moravia espoused their cause; and in the person of Count Mansfeld there arose among them a protector equally intrepid and unexpected.

The leaders of the Evangelic Union had beheld the commotions of the Bohemians with silence, but not with inactivity: both had to contend in the same cause, and against the same enemy; their fate was united with that of the Bohemians, and the cause of that people was represented as that of all the German Protestants. True to this principle, the rebels were encouraged in their presumption, and a fortunate circumstance enabled them to fulfil their hopes.

Peter Ernest Count Mansfeld, the son of an Austrian officer of merit, who had served with distinction in the Spanish army in Flanders, was the instrument of terror to the Austrian power in Germany. He had served his first campaigns under the Archduke Leopold, in Juliers and in Alsace, against the Protestant religion: but, gradually gained by the principles of this doctrine, or the anarchy which it seemed to encourage, he deserted a general
who

who did not reward him according to his services, and attached himself with zeal to the Protestant faith. He was favoured by a war which the Duke of Savoy, an ally of the Union, was desirous of commencing with Spain. An army of four thousand men was raised at the expense of this Duke, to assist the members of the Union in Germany. Nothing could be more agreeable to the Bohemians than to be assisted by troops supported at foreign expense. Mansfeld received orders to lead this army into Bohemia, and a manifesto previously issued concealed their destination.

Mansfeld now appeared in Bohemia, and by taking possession of Pilsen, a town formidable by its strength, and in the Emperor's interest, firmly established himself in that kingdom. The courage of the rebels was increased by succours they received from Saxony. Between these and the Imperial troops there were some skirmishes, which were a prelude to a more serious war. To check the vivacity of these operations, the interposition of Saxony was offered to the Emperor: but before this negotiation could be brought to a conclusion he died.

What

What had Matthias now done to fulfil what the expectations of the world, and the ruin of his predecessor, required of him? Was it worth the pains to obtain Rodolph's throne with so much trouble, and leave it with so little renown? So long as Matthias was sovereign, he was obliged to make sacrifices to the necessities which had originally been the cause of his promotion. To enjoy the regal dignity some years sooner, he had sacrificed the independence of his throne; his immediate followers were confined to the authority which was left him by the states. Sickly and childless, he beheld a successor who impatiently anticipated the consequences.

With Matthias the Austrian line was in a manner extinct; for of all the sons of Maximilian, there lived only one, weak and childless, Archduke Albert, in the Netherlands, who had yielded his right of inheritance to the line of Gratz. Even the Court of Spain had privately resigned all its claims to the Austrian territories in favour of the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, by which the race of Habsburg were to receive new strength in Germany, and the influence and power of Austria a renewal.

Ferdinand

Ferdinand was the son of the younger brother of Maximilian II. Archduke of Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia, and a princess of Bavaria. Having lost his father at twelve years of age, his mother delivered him to her brother William, Duke of Bavaria, who had him educated at the academy of Ingoldstadt, under the Jesuits. The principles which he here imbibed from the conversation of a prince who had abdicated his government from motives of devotion, may be easily conceived. On the one side he was shown the detestation in which Maximilian held the new doctrines, and the confusion which reigned among the Protestants; on the other side he was promised the affection of the Bavarians, and the zealous support of its princes in the extirpation of heresy. To the choice of either he must resolve himself.

Formed in this school to be a champion of the faith, and an instrument of the church, he left Bavaria after five years residence there, to take upon himself the administration of his hereditary dominions. The states of Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia, who required him to confirm the toleration of their religion before they did homage, received for answer, that the former was wholly unconnected with the latter; the
oath

oath of allegiance was unconditionally demanded, and actually taken. Several years, however, elapsed before he began to execute the schemes which he had formed at Ingolstadt; he first had the precaution to offer up his devotions at the shrine of the Virgin Mary, at Loretto, and to obtain at Rome the benediction of Pope Clement VIII.

To expel the Protestants from a country where they formed the more numerous body, and where they were formerly tolerated by an edict of Ferdinand's father, must appear a tyrannical act; and so solemn a grant of toleration could not be repealed without danger: but this pupil of the Jesuits was to be deterred by no difficulties. The example of other states, both Catholic and Protestant, who exercised the right of making converts in their territories, and the manner in which the states of Styria abused the privilege of toleration, must justify this violent action. The rules of prudence and good sense, though even sanctioned by law, were disregarded. In prosecuting this unjust undertaking, it must be confessed that Ferdinand displayed an extraordinary courage and firmness; without having recourse to severe or cruel measures, he suppressed the Protestants

in

in one city after another; and in a few years, to the astonishment of all Germany, brought his schemes to a conclusion.

But while admired by the Catholics as their champion and hero, the Protestants began to combine against him as their most formidable enemy. Matthias had met with little opposition from the states of Austria, and had received the crown of Bohemia under no very considerable restrictions; their attention was excited when they found the evil consequences of his measures as Emperor; and a number of projects in his hand-writing, which displayed no good will towards them, raised their consternation to the utmost: they were chiefly alarmed at a secret family compact with Spain, in which the Emperor had bequeathed to that crown, in default of male issue, the kingdom of Bohemia, without consulting the nation or regarding its elective rights. The numerous enemies which this prince had made himself by his reforms in Styria among the Protestants, were of the worst consequence to him in Bohemia; and several Styrians who had emigrated to this latter country were particularly active in exciting the flames of revolt. Thus ill affected did Ferdinand

Ferdinand find the Bohemian people on his accession.

So bad an understanding between the people and the candidate for the throne, would have raised a storm in the most peaceable succession, but much more at this period, when the nation had resumed their dignity and asserted their native rights, and when, with arms in their hands, and encouraged by their internal union and by promises of foreign assistance, they assured themselves of success. Disregarding Ferdinand's claims, they declared their throne vacant, and themselves fully released from their former election. No way of negotiation was left; and if Ferdinand was to possess the crown of Bohemia, it must be either at the expense of all the power which alone renders a crown acceptable, or he must conquer that kingdom by force of arms.

But means of conquest were not easily found in his convulsed dominions. Silesia had joined in the insurrection of Bohemia, and Moravia was prepared to follow its example; a strong opposition prevailed in Upper and Lower Austria, whose states declined doing homage; Hungary was threatened with an irruption by

Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transilvania; secret preparations among the Turks filled the eastern provinces with consternation. To crown these misfortunes, the Protestants had made an insurrection in his hereditary dominions. In these the Protestants formed the more numerous body, and they chiefly possessed the revenues by which Ferdinand was to carry on the war: the neutral became irresolute, the faithful subjects were discouraged, and resolution adhered only to the turbulent; one half of Germany encouraged the rebels, the other calmly awaited the event. Spanish aid was distant; the present moment menaced him with ruin, and he was threatened with the vengeance of injured freedom in the height of its success.

Pressed by necessity, he now made offers of peace to the Bohemians, which they rejected with disdain. Count Thurn, at the head of an army, entered Moravia to bring the resolutions of this country, which alone still seemed to waver, to a decision. The appearance of an enemy was to the Moravian Protestants the signal of rebellion; Bruenn was taken, the whole country yielded, and both government and religion were changed throughout the province. The insurrection made rapid strides in
Upper

Upper Austria, where a powerful party favoured it. "There was to be in future no distinction between religions; both should be on an equal footing: a foreign force was raising to oppress the Bohemians: they would be avenged, and pursue the enemies of liberty to the utmost limits of the earth." Such was the tone held out; not an arm was raised in the Archduke's defence, and the rebels at length encamped before Vienna, in order to besiege their sovereign.

Ferdinand had sent his children from Gratz, where they were no longer safe, to Tirol; he himself awaited the insurgents in his capital. A handful of troops was all he could oppose to the enraged multitude, neither could any dependence be placed in these, being in want of pay, and even of bread. Vienna could not be expected to sustain a long siege; the Protestants formed the strongest party in the town, and were ready to join the Bohemians; those of the country had begun to assemble troops. The people already thought they saw the Emperor shut up in a monastery, his territories divided, and his children become Protestants. Betrayed by private, and surrounded by open enemies, he hourly saw a more dangerous abyss before

before him. The Bohemians fired upon the Imperial palace, which was forcibly entered by sixteen Austrian Barons, who endeavoured to extort the Emperor's consent to a confederacy with the rebels of Bohemia. One of these proceeded so far as to seize him by the button of his waistcoat, and asked, "*Ferdinand, wilt thou sign it?*"

Who could be censured for yielding under such desperate circumstances? But Ferdinand reflected on his dignity. No alternative remained for him but flight or deceit; to the one he was advised by men of sense, to the other by priests. By abandoning Vienna, it fell into the hands of his enemies; Austria was lost, and with it the Imperial throne; Ferdinand would not leave his capital, and yet scorned to listen to an accommodation. It must be confessed that his conduct upon this occasion did honour to the Jesuits, who inspired him with such sentiments in his youth.

The Archduke was engaged in an altercation with the deputed Barons when the trumpets sounded on a sudden in the palace-yard; the consternation was universal, a dreadful report overspread the palace, the deputies fled one after

after the other, and many of the nobility were seen taking refuge in Thurn's camp. This important change was effected by a regiment of Dampierre's cuirassiers, who entered the city to defend the person of the Archduke; they were soon followed by infantry, and by many Catholic citizens encouraged by this reinforcement; even the students armed themselves. To a report which spread beyond Bohemia he owed his safety; the Flemish general, Bucquoi, had totally defeated Count Mansfeld at Budweis, and was proceeding against Prague. The Bohemians now speedily broke up their camp, to save their capital.

The passes of which the enemy had taken possession, to prevent Ferdinand from proceeding to his coronation at Frankfort, were now abandoned. The possession of the Imperial throne was never of so much consequence to the King of Hungary as at present, when the title of Emperor added dignity to his person, seemed to justify his cause, and to promise him succour from the Empire. But the same cabal which opposed him in his hereditary dominions, also pursued him in canvassing for the Imperial authority; it was resolved that no Austrian prince should mount the Emperor's throne, at

least Ferdinand, the determined enemy of the Protestant religion, the slave of Spain, and of the Jesuits. To prevent this, even during the life of Matthias, the Imperial throne had been offered to the Duke of Bavaria; and on his declining it to the Duke of Savoy. As the conditions could not be so readily settled with the latter, it was resolved to delay his election until some decisive blow was struck in Bohemia or Austria, which would annihilate all the hopes of Ferdinand, and incapacitate him for this dignity. The members of the Union made great efforts to attach Saxony, which was in the Austrian interest, to themselves, and to represent to this court the dangers with which the Emperor's principles and his Spanish alliance threatened both the Protestant religion and the constitution of the Empire. By promoting the accession of Ferdinand to the Imperial throne, they said he espoused that prince's private quarrel, and drew on himself the indignation of Bohemia. But notwithstanding all opposition, the election of Ferdinand was resolved, as lawful King of Bohemia, and his vote in the College of Electors declared valid, notwithstanding the opposition of the Bohemians. He was master of the three ecclesiastical voices, and even Saxony favoured him; Brandenburg did not

not oppose him, and by a plurality of voices he was elected Emperor in 1619. The most uncertain of all his crowns he at length obtained, but only to lose it in a few days after he had thought it the best secured of all his possessions. While crowned Emperor at Frankfort, in Prague he abdicated the Bohemian throne.

Almost all his German dominions now entered into a formidable confederacy with the Bohemians, whose violence exceeded all reasonable bounds. On the 17th of August 1619, a general diet formally declared the Emperor an enemy to the Bohemian religion and liberty, by his pernicious counsels to the late King, his furnishing troops to invade them, introducing foreigners to ravage the country; and by his late contempt of the national independence in entering into a secret compact with Spain, to have forfeited all title to the crown; and proceeded to a new election. As this revolution was made by Protestants, the choice of a sovereign could not fall upon Catholic princes; though, to save appearance, and diminish, if possible, the number of their enemies, Bavaria and Savoy had some votes in their favour. But the violent animosities which divided the Calvinists and Lutherans, rendered

the election, even of a Protestant king, for a considerable time difficult, until at length the activity and address of the Calvinists prevailed over their Lutheran antagonists.

Among the princes who had any pretensions to this dignity, the Elector Palatine, Frederic V. had the greatest claim to the confidence and gratitude of the Bohemians; and there was no other under whose administration individual interests could so effectually promote themselves. Frederic V. possessed a lively disposition, uncommon goodness of heart, and great munificence; he was at the head of the Union in Germany, the leaders of which were at his disposal; a near relative to the Elector of Bavaria, against whose dangerous neighbourhood he might possibly secure the country, and a son-in-law to the King of Great Britain, who could powerfully support him. All these advantages were seized by the Calvinists, and Frederic V. was elected and solemnly invested with the crown of Bohemia.

The proceedings of the diet of Prague were premeditated, and Frederic had been too active to receive their offers with surprise; nevertheless the immediate weight of a crown intimidated

dated him, and the double extent of his elevation and his misdemeanour shook his pusillanimity.

After the usual example of weak souls, he was willing to learn the opinions of foreign powers on this attempt; yet still he yielded to his passions. Saxony and Bavaria, which he consulted together with all his brother electors, warned him against the danger to which he exposed himself; even his father-in-law, King James of England, rather chose to have him deprived of a crown, than to offend the sacred majesty of kings by so bad an example.

But prudential considerations were of little weight against passion and a sense of honour. After rejecting a race which had governed them for two centuries, a powerful nation had placed him at their head; confident in his resolution, they had chosen him as their leader in the dangerous career of fame and liberty; the adherents of an oppressed religion expected from him favour and protection. Could he in such circumstances betray apprehension, and abandon the cause both of religion and freedom? This nation displayed to him their strength, and the weakness of their enemies; two-thirds
of

of its force armed against Austria, and a formidable confederacy appeared ready in Transylvania to employ its remaining strength. Were not these prospects calculated to excite his ambitious views, and such hopes to inspire him with resolution?

A few moments of reflection would, however, have sufficed to instruct him in the greatness of his attempt and the smallness of its reward; but encouragement inflamed his ambition, and the consequences did not appear to his prudence. It was his misfortune, that his most intimate friends only excited his passions; the aggrandizement of their sovereign's power gave his Palatine servants a wide field for extortion; the triumph of his church inflamed every Calvinist with enthusiasm. It was also natural that so weak a mind should yield to the flattery of his counsellors, who constantly magnified his authority and lessened that of his enemy; the exhortations of his chaplains persuaded him that the impulse of their fanatical zeal proceeded immediately from heaven; astrological reveries filled him with chimerical hopes, and he was even seduced from the rules of prudence by the invincible force of love. "You have espoused the daughter of a king,"
said

said his Electress to him, “and yet scruple to
 “accept a throne which is unanimously offered
 “to you; for my part, I would rather eat
 “plain bread at a royal, than feast sumptuously
 “at an electoral table*.”

Frederic accepted the crown of Bohemia; his coronation was celebrated at Prague with unexampled pomp, and the nation displayed all its riches to honour its own work. Silesia and Moravia followed the example of Bohemia, and yielded homage to the new king. The Reformation overspread the country, the rejoicings were boundless, and their respect for their new sovereign approached nearly to adoration. Denmark and Sweden, Holland and Venice, with several German states, acknowledged him as legitimate sovereign, and Frederic prepared to maintain his new crown.

His greatest expectations were placed on Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transilvania. This formidable enemy of Austria and of the Catholic religion, not satisfied with having wrested his

* These were the sentiments which she imbibed at the court of her father, James I.; sentiments he could inspire, but would not support her in; and he shamefully abandoned her to her fate. *Transf.*

prin-

principality, by the aid of the Turks, from its lawful prince, Gabriel Bathori, embraced this opportunity with eagerness to aggrandize himself at the expense of the Emperor, who refused to acknowledge him as sovereign of Transilvania. An attack upon Hungary and Austria was concerted with the Bohemian rebels, when both armies were to have marched to the capital. In the mean time Gabor concealed the true motive of his warlike preparations under the mask of friendship; and artfully promised the Emperor, under the appearance of assisting them, to lead the Bohemians into a snare, and deliver up their leaders alive to him.

On a sudden the enemy entered Upper Hungary, preceded by terror and followed by devastation; every thing yielded before him, and he even received the crown of Hungary at Presburg. The Emperor's brother, governor of Vienna, trembled for the safety of that capital; without delay he called General Bucquoi to his assistance. The absence of the Imperialists brought the Bohemian army a second time before Vienna; reinforced by 12,000 Transilvanians, and soon after joined by the victorious troops of Bethlen Gabor, it threatened Vienna anew. The country was laid waste to the gates of that city,

city, the navigation of the Danube closed, supplies cut off, and the terrors of a famine were soon felt. Ferdinand, whom the impending danger had hastened back to his capital, saw himself a second time at the brink of destruction; a scarcity of provisions, and the inclemency of the weather, at length compelled the Bohemians to disperse. A check in Hungary recalled Bethlen Gabor, and fortune saved the Emperor a second time.

In a short period the scene was changed; Ferdinand improved by an active prudence the situation of his affairs; while Frederic, by indolence and impolitic measures, destroyed his own. The states of Lower Austria were, by a confirmation of their privileges, induced to return to their allegiance; such as refused were outlawed, and declared guilty of high treason. By degrees the Emperor obtained a firm footing in his hereditary dominions, and then neglected no effort to procure foreign assistance; he had already, at the coronation at Frankfort, received the verbal assurance of the ecclesiastical electors, and that of Maximilian Duke of Bavaria, at Munich, to espouse his cause. The fate of Ferdinand and of Frederic depended upon the share which the League

League and the Union would take in this war. It appeared to be the interest of all the Protestants in Germany to support the Bohemian King; the Catholics were equally interested in maintaining the Emperor's authority from ruin: by prevailing in Bohemia, the Protestants would inspire all the ecclesiastical princes in Germany with terror; by their defeat, the Emperor would be enabled to dictate to the Protestant powers of the Empire. Ferdinand, therefore, put the League, and Frederic the Union, in motion. The near alliance and personal attachment which the Duke of Bavaria bore the Emperor, his brother in law, with whom he was educated at Ingoldstadt; zeal for the Catholic church, which was apparently in danger; the insinuations of the Jesuits, joined to the suspicious proceedings of the Union, induced the former, together with all the princes of the League, to espouse the Emperor's quarrel.

After having regulated the future grant of supplies for carrying on the war, and the indemnification of all losses, Maximilian assumed the unlimited command of the army of the League, which was put in motion to assist the Emperor against the rebels of Bohemia.

The

The leaders of the Union, instead of endeavouring to prevent the League from uniting with the Emperor, on the contrary promoted it. If they could bring the League to take part in the war of Bohemia, it was but just they should follow the example; without the open hostility of the Catholics against the Union, the Protestants could expect to form no effectual confederacy. They chose the important conjuncture of the Bohemian league to demand redress from the Catholics for the grievances under which they had laboured, and an entire toleration of their religion. These demands, made in a decisive tone, were levelled against the Duke of Bavaria, who was at the head of the Catholics, and they required an immediate and decisive answer. Whether Maximilian declared for or against them, their point was gained; his concession deprived the Catholics of their most powerful supporter, his refusal armed the entire Protestant party, and rendered inevitable a war by which they hoped to attain their ends. Maximilian, firmly attached to the opposite party, took their demands as a formal declaration of war, and hastened hostilities. While Bavaria and the Catholics were now in arms for the Emperor, applications were made to Spain for subsidies; the difficul-

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ties which were caused in this negotiation by the indolence of the Spanish ministry, were fortunately surmounted by the Imperial ambassador at Madrid, Count Kevenhuller. Besides a supply of a million of florins, which were obtained gradually from that Court, it was resolved at the same time to attack the Lower Palatinate from the Spanish Netherlands.

While they endeavoured to draw into the League all the Catholic powers, the Protestants laboured with equal zeal to augment their confederacy. The Elector of Saxony and several other Protestant states imagined it was the intention of the League to deprive them of the secularized chapters. The former was, however, pacified by a written assurance from Austria to the contrary, and he was already inclined towards the latter cause, from his private jealousy of the Palatine Elector, the exhortations of his chaplain, who was in the pay of Austria, and the mortification of not being set up a candidate for the crown of Bohemia. The fanaticism of the Lutherans could never forgive so many extensive territories for having embraced Calvinism, and substituted the Helvetian Antichrist for the Roman.

While Ferdinand made every effort to ameliorate his condition, Frederic acted in the very opposite manner. By his close connexion with the Prince of Transilvania, the avowed ally of the Turks, he afforded a cause of jealousy to weak minds; and he was accused of gratifying his ambition at the expense of Christendom, and arming the Turks against Germany. His blind zeal for Calvinism was disagreeable to the Lutherans in Bohemia, while his destruction of their images incensed the Papists of that kingdom against him; new imposts lost him the affection of the people; the disappointed ambition of the Bohemian nobles abated their zeal in his cause, and the want of foreign aid rendered them more circumspect. Instead of devoting his time to the administration, Frederic destined it to his amusements; instead of augmenting his treasure by a prudent economy, he lavished his revenues in theatrical pomp and ill-directed largesses; his new dignity inspired him with a careless levity, and in the intoxication of success he neglected to secure the possession of his crown.

So much were men disappointed in their expectations of him, and so much did he deceive himself with the hope of foreign assistance!

ance! Most of the members of the Union were diverted from its original intent by the occurrences in Bohemia; others were overawed by the Emperor. Ferdinand had gained over Saxony and Hesse Darmstadt to his party; Lower Austria, whence the greatest diversion was expected, submitted to the Emperor; Bethlen Gabor concluded a truce with him; the Court of Vienna, by means of embassies, succeeded in prevailing on the Danes to remain inactive, and Sweden was occupied by a war in Poland. The Dutch republic with difficulty supported itself against the Spanish arms; Venice and Savoy remained inactive; King James of England was over-reached by the artifice of Spain. Friends and hopes vanished, the one after the other. So rapid was the alteration in the space of a few months!

Meanwhile the leaders of the Union assembled their army, and those of the League followed their example. The troops of the latter were at Donauwerth, under the orders of the Duke of Bavaria; those of the Union at Ulm, under the Margrave of Anspach. The decisive moment appeared at length to have arrived when the divisions of the Empire would be terminated by a decisive battle, and the future condition

condition of both religions irrevocably settled; the expectations of all parties were raised to the utmost. How much were men astonished when the news of peace arrived, and both armies disbanded without striking a blow!

The mediation of France effected this peace, which was equally acceptable to both parties. The French ministry, no longer directed by a Henry the Great, whose maxims were not, perhaps, adapted to the present condition of that monarchy, now feared the increasing power of Austria much less than that of the Calvinists, if the Elector Palatine remained on the throne of Bohemia. England being engaged in a dangerous contest with its own Calvinist subjects, it had no nearer view than the suppression of the Protestants in Bohemia, before the Hugonots should follow the example of that party. To facilitate the conquest of Bohemia to Ferdinand, it had interposed its mediation, and obtained an unexpected treaty, the chief article of which was, "That the Union should renounce all interference in the transactions of Bohemia, and confine the aid which they were to afford Frederic V. to his Palatine territories." The Duke of Bavaria's firmness, and their apprehensions of an army of

Spaniards, which was on its march from the Netherlands, prevailed upon the leaders of the Union to conclude this shameful treaty.

The Emperor was now at liberty to employ the whole force of Bavaria and of the League against the Bohemians, who, by the pacification of Ulm, were abandoned to their fate. By a rapid movement, and before intelligence of this treaty could arrive there, the Duke of Bavaria appeared in Lower Austria, where the states, astonished, and prepared for no enemy, purchased the Emperor's favour by an immediate and unlimited submission. Here he called the troops of the Low Countries, under Count Bucquoi, to his assistance; and this united Imperial-Bavarian army, 50,000 men strong, immediately fell into Bohemia. They drove before them all the Bohemian parties which were spread over Lower Austria and Moravia; every town that attempted resistance was taken by storm; and the rest, from fear of chastisement, voluntarily submitted. The Duke's progress was uninterrupted; the Bohemian army, commanded by the brave Prince Christian of Anhalt, retired to the neighbourhood of Prague, where the Duke of Bavaria gave them battle.

The

The bad condition in which he expected to find the army of the rebels, justified this rapidity in the Duke's motions, and assured him the victory. Frederic had not assembled 30,000 men; the Prince of Anhalt brought 8000, and Bethlen Gabor 10,000 men to his assistance. An irruption of the Elector of Saxony into Lusatia had deprived him of the succour which he expected from that country and from Silesia, to enable him to subdue Austria; Bethlen Gabor, his most powerful ally, remained tranquil, the Union having betrayed him to the Emperor. Frederic had nothing remaining but Bohemia, and this kingdom wanted fidelity, union, and courage; the Bohemian rebels were offended at being subjected to German generals, and Count Mansfeld remained in Pilsen, at a distance from the camp, to avoid the mortification of serving under Anhalt and Hohenlo. The soldiers, in want of necessaries, lost courage, and loud complaints were made by the inhabitants of their want of subordination. It was in vain that Frederic made his appearance in the camp to inspire the nobles by his example.

The Bohemians began to intrench themselves on the White Mountain near Prague, when

the united Imperial-Bavarian armies attacked them on the 8th of November 1620. In the beginning of the action some advantages were obtained by the Prince of Anhalt's cavalry, but these were soon counterbalanced by the superior numbers of the enemy; the shock of the Bavarians and Walloons was irresistible, and the Hungarian horse were the first who abandoned the field of battle; their example was followed by the Bohemian infantry, and the Germans were at length drawn into universal confusion; ten cannon, in which consisted all Frederic's artillery, fell into the enemy's hands; four thousand Bohemians were killed upon the spot; only a few hundred Imperialists and troops of the League fell. In less than an hour this decisive battle was ended*.

* With this battle terminated for ever the liberties of Bohemia. It is to be remarked, that this people, who had shown so early an attachment to civil and religious liberty, are now the most slavish in the Emperor's dominions: so much does oppression degrade the mind! Their misfortune was, not to have elected for king a prince of Saxony, instead of the timid Frederic. It is also to be remarked, that this people, so stupidly obedient, form at this day the best disciplined and the most intrepid soldiers in the Austrian army. Habits of obedience to their lords, and veneration for their sovereign, supply the place of patriotism. *Transf.*

Frederic

Frederic beheld from Prague the defeat of his army. Apprehensive of no attack, he had on this day ordered an entertainment; he was at length aroused on beholding the slaughter of his troops. He requested a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours: eight was all the Duke of Bavaria would grant him. Frederic took advantage of these to fly from Prague in the night, accompanied by his queen and the chiefs of his army; their departure was effected in such haste, that the Prince of Anhalt forgot his private papers, and Frederic his crown. "I know not what I am," said that unfortunate prince to those who administered consolation to him: "there are virtues which we are taught by adversity, and it is only from misfortune that we princes acquire a knowledge of our own characters."

Prague was not yet totally lost without Frederic's pusillanimity; Mansfeld's corps was still at Pilsen, and was not engaged in the action; Bethlen was enabled to commence hostilities, and draw the Emperor's army to the borders of Hungary; the vanquished Bohemians could recover themselves; sickness, hunger, and the inclemency of the weather, might defeat

the enemy : but these hopes were extinguished by the immediate consternation.

Frederic dreaded the inconstancy of the Bohemians, who, by the delivery of his person, might be tempted to seek the Emperor's pardon.

Thurn, and those of his party who were equally obnoxious, found it imprudent to await their destiny within the walls of Prague. They took refuge in Moravia, and soon after in Transilvania. Frederic fled to Breslau, where, after remaining a short time, he removed to the court of the Elector of Brandenburg, and from thence to Holland.

The battle of Prague had decided the fate of Bohemia. Prague surrendered the next day to the conquerors, and its example was followed by the remaining towns of the kingdom. The states yielded unconditionally ; Moravia and Silesia followed their example. The Emperor suffered three months to elapse before he took cognisance of past events. Many of those who had fled in the beginning now appeared in the capital, full of confidence in this apparent clemency ; but the storm suddenly arose ;
forty-

forty-eight of the principal rebels were arrested and tried before an extraordinary commission, composed of native Austrians and Bohemians; twenty-seven expired on the scaffold; an incredible number of the common people were executed. The emigrated were cited to appear; and as they did not present themselves, they were declared guilty of high treason, condemned to death, their estates confiscated, and their names affixed to the gallows: the estates of deceased rebels were even confiscated: this was, however, the more tolerable, because the plunder of one individual enriched another. But oppression was extended to the whole kingdom, and soon after to the whole Empire, from which both the Protestant parties were expelled. Ferdinand tore the *letter of majesty* with his own hand, and burned the seal. Seven years after the battle of Prague every indulgence was withdrawn from the Bohemian Protestants. But while so severe against their religion, he was reserved towards their civil constitution, and he magnanimously permitted the Bohemians to tax themselves.

The victory of Prague put Ferdinand in possession of all his dominions, and even increased his authority beyond that of his predecessors.

By

By it his desires were gratified beyond his most sanguine expectations.

It was now in his power to dismiss his allies, and his army. At all events the war was at an end: and, if just and merciful, he would desist from oppression. The fate of Germany was now in his hands, and the happiness or misery of many millions of people depended upon the measures he would follow. But the intoxication of success never caused more dreadful consequences.

BOOK II.

THE resolution which Ferdinand now embraced changed both the direction and the scene of the war. From a war in Bohemia, and the chastisement of the rebels, its flames were soon extended to Germany, and speedily after to all Europe. It may not be improper, at this period, to take a view of the state of affairs in the Empire, and in the rest of Europe.

The Catholics and Protestants were so divided in Germany, that each party required the closest union to maintain itself against the other. If the Catholics were the more numerous party, and the most favoured by the constitution of the Empire, the Protestants had the advantage of possessing a more compact and populous territory, able princes, large armies, flourishing free cities, together with the command of the sea, besides, at the worst extremity,

tremjty, being fecure of a ftrong fupport in the Catholic countries. Should the Catholics arm Spain and Italy in their favour, the Proteftants could call to their aid the republics of Holland and Venice, the northern powers, and the more formidable one of the Turks. Brandenburg, Saxony, and the Palatinate oppofed three Proteftant votes to three Catholic electorates, and the character of Emperor was a check upon the electorate of Bohemia, if the Proteftants thought proper to exert their ftrength. The power of the Union might eafily counterbalance that of the League, or, if a war actually broke out, render its iffue doubtful. But private diffenfions deftroyed the political union which the Proteftant ftates had formed among themfelves. The critical moment was neglected, becaufe thofe who had the courage to profit by it wanted power, and thofe who poffeffed ability wanted vigour.

By the merits of his anceftor Maurice, the extent of his territories, and the weight of his influence, the Elector of Saxony was naturally regarded as the head of the Proteftants in Germany. On his influence depended the decifion of the victory which either party was to obtain: neither was John George, the prefent Elector, infenfible

insensible to the advantages which his present situation might obtain. He openly rejected a neutrality between both parties, determined to devote himself entirely to one, and either, by declaring for the Emperor, to attach that prince to him from motives of gratitude, or by an opposite conduct to intimidate him. Governed neither by that religious or romantic enthusiasm which led so many sovereigns to risk both their lives and authority, John George wisely adopted prudential maxims of policy. He was accused of betraying the cause of the Protestants; of having preferred the aggrandizement of his own power to the safety of his country; of having exposed all the Protestants of Germany, from hatred to the Calvinists; and, by his suspicious conduct, of having caused them more evil than by his open enmity. But the princes who made those complaints were imprudent in not pursuing the politics of this Elector. If the Saxons deplored the cruelties which attended the Emperor's progress, if all Germany saw how Ferdinand deceived his allies and violated his promises, if the Elector himself at length perceived it, it was the more shameful for the Emperor to abuse the confidence placed in him.

While

While the Elector of Saxony was restrained within bounds by his too great reliance on the House of Austria, and his hopes of increasing his dominions, the fear of Austria, and the apprehensions of losing his electorate, retained the weak George William of Brandenburg in a disgraceful awe. The Elector Palatine had even by his ruin preserved himself and his people from the reproaches which were made to both those princes. Rash expectations, a vain reliance on his strength, and the alluring prospect of a crown, had impelled that unfortunate prince to an undertaking to which neither his genius nor his power were equal. By the division of his territories, and the bad understanding of his servants, the power of the Palatinate was enfeebled, which, under proper direction, might have still rendered the war a long time doubtful.

Even this participation of his territories also hurt the princes of Hesse, by the enmity which their difference of religion caused between the Houses of Cassel and Darmstadt. The latter adhered to the confession of Augsburg, and put itself under the Emperor's protection, who favoured it at the expense of the Calvinists of Cassel. While the adherents of his religion

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fought

fought for liberty of conscience, George Landgrave of Darmstadt received subsidies from the Emperor. But true to the principles of his ancestor, who a century before ventured to defend the liberties of Germany against the formidable Charles V. William Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel embraced the cause of honour and of danger. Superior to the pusillanimity which retained so many more powerful princes in awe of the Emperor, William was the first who dared to join the Swedes, and offered to the German princes an example which none were inclined to imitate. His resolution was equalled by his perseverance, and supported by the heroism of his actions. With the boldest resolution he bid defiance to an enemy which had already triumphed over Magdeburg.

This Landgrave has fair claims to immortality. The day of vengeance must be slowly awaited by the never-to-be-forgotten prince John Frederic. But finally did that day arrive. His principles at length succeeded, and his heroic spirit was inherited by his grandson. An intrepid race of princes came from the Thuringian forests to vindicate his injured reputation, and his loss of the electoral dignity. The sentence of his enemy could deprive him of his dominion,

dominion, but not of that patriotic spirit and romantic courage which a century afterwards inspired his grandson. His animosity against the race of Habsburg was bequeathed by him to his posterity. The duty which they could not fulfil as *princes* they executed as *men*, and died in a glorious cause—the bravest champions of liberty. Too weak to bring their own armies into the field, they showed to those of foreign powers the road to victory against their enemies.

The German liberties, abandoned by the states who were most concerned in their preservation, were defended by a few princes who were scarce interested in the event. Power produced indolence; necessity formed heroes. While Saxony, Brandenburg, &c. showed signs of fear, Anhalt, Mansfeld, the Princes of Weremar, and others, were seen to risk their persons in bloody battles. The Dukes of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, Wirtemberg, and the free cities of Upper Germany, overawed by the Emperor's power, avoided the contest, and quietly submitted to him.

Austria, and the Catholic party in Germany, possessed, in the person of the Duke of Bavaria,
I a defender

a defender equally powerful and prudent. Attentive during the whole course of the war to a fixed plan, never divided between his religion and his political interests, Maximilian owed to it the authority and accession of territory, for which he was not indebted to fortune. The other Catholic states, principally ecclesiastical princes, too unwarlike to resist the fanatical opinions which prevailed in their territories, were contented to persecute in the cabinet and the pulpit those whom they durst not oppose in the field. Slaves to Austria or Bavaria, they all vanished before this prince; and it was only in the hand of Maximilian that their power was of any consequence.

The formidable monarchy which Charles V. and his son had unnaturally united, comprising the Netherlands, Milan, both Sicilies, and the extensive East and West Indian possessions, began to decline under Philip III. and IV. Exalted by fruitless treasure, this power slowly degenerated, when deprived of the radical support of states — agriculture. Its conquests in the West Indies reduced Spain to poverty, while the bankers of Antwerp, Venice, and Genoa, negotiated with the gold which was still buried in the mines of Peru. India depo-

pulated the Spanish monarchy; its treasures had the same consequences in endeavouring to reconquer Holland, in the chimerical plan of changing the French succession, and in an unfortunate attempt upon England*. But the pride of this court had survived its power, and its animosity, the dread of its enemies. The distrust which the Protestants entertained of Philip III. and the reliance which the latter placed on Spanish assistance, excited among the Catholics the greatest confidence. Outward splendour concealed the inward weakness of this monarchy, and its self-importance was sustained by the high tone which it still held. Slaves in their palaces, and even strangers upon their own throne, the nominal kings of Spain prescribed laws for their German relations; and it may be doubted whether their support was worth the state of dependance by which the Emperor purchased it. On the other side of the Pyrenean mountains ignorant monks decided the fate of Europe. But under every disadvantage, a power must still be formidable which in extent yielded to none in Europe, which stedfastly persevered in the same system of policy, possessed excellent troops and consummate generals, and where

* The Spanish Armada. *Transf.*

open force could not reach, would not scruple to employ the assassin's dagger, and convert its very ambassadors into incendiaries. What it lost in three quarters of the globe it now sought to recover to the eastward; and all Europe lay at its mercy, if its junction with the hereditary dominions of Austria between the Alps and the Adriatic sea could be effected.

This formidable power had introduced itself into that country, and its open steps towards aggrandisement caused the neighbouring sovereigns to tremble for the safety of their dominions. The Pope himself was in the most dangerous situation, having the Spanish viceroy of Naples on one side, and that of Milan on the other; Venice was surrounded by Austrian Tyrol and Spanish Milan; and Savoy was alarmed at the vicinity of the latter, and of France. Hence arose the doubtful and variable system of politics which the Italian government pursued since the reign of Charles V. The double capacity of the popedom was obliged to follow different systems. If the Pope, as successor of St. Peter, found the utmost support in the crown of Spain, yet, as a sovereign, he had in this same power the most dangerous neighbour. If in the one capacity he was inte-

rested in the destruction of the Protestant religion, and in beholding Austria triumphant, in the other he must rejoice at the successes of the Protestants, which deprived a dangerous neighbour of the power of doing him injury. The one or the other sentiment prevailed, according as the Popes were embarrassed by their spiritual or temporal interests; but Rome's policy was generally directed to avert immediate danger: and it is generally acknowledged, that mankind are more excited in maintaining immediate than regaining lost possessions. This explains the motive of the Pope's favouring both the Emperor and the Protestant party. How uncommon are the features of human history! What would have been the fate of the Reformation, and the liberty of the German princes, if the Pope, as bishop and sovereign, had united both his spiritual and temporal interests?

France, with its great Henry, had lost its political weight in the general system of Europe. A turbulent minority had destroyed all the good effects of the preceding reign. Weak ministers, the creatures of intrigue and court favour, squandered in a few years the treasures which the economy of Sully and Henry IV. had collected. Scarce able to contain themselves
against

against interior factions, they were necessitated to relinquish European politics. The same civil commotions which raged in Germany also prevailed in France; and Louis XIII. at his majority, found himself engaged not only in a war with his Protestant subjects, but even with his own mother. The French Protestants, held in subjection by Henry's enlightened policy, now seized upon the opportunity of taking up arms, and, under some resolute leaders, formed a party, of which they fixed upon the important town of Rochelle as the capital. Not possessing sagacity sufficient to stifle those religious dissensions by a toleration at their birth, and not sufficiently master of his dominions to carry on a war with effect, Louis XIII. soon found himself under the humiliating necessity of purchasing the submission of the insurgents by money. Though led by policy to support the rebels of Bohemia against Austria, Henry IV.'s son must behold quietly their ruin; sufficiently fortunate in preventing his own Protestant subjects from forming a junction with them. A great genius at the helm of state would have reduced the Protestants of France to obedience while he supported those of Germany; but Henry IV. was no more, and Richelieu had not yet revived his system of politics.

While France lost the remains of its former glory, the new republic of Holland laid the foundation of its future greatness. The enthusiasm by which the race of Orange had transformed that mercantile people into a nation of heroes, was not yet extinguished, and had enabled them to establish their independence, after a bloody war with Spain. Mindful of the gratitude they owed to foreign assistance, these republicans were eager to espouse the cause of their confederates in Germany, with whose independence their own was so closely connected. But a republic which fought for its own existence, which must still employ the greatest efforts to oppose a superior enemy, even upon its own territories, could not be expected to turn its means of self-defence to the assistance of foreign states.

England also, though united with Scotland, possessed, under the feeble administration of James I. no longer the same weight which it obtained by the great genius of its queen Elizabeth among the powers of Europe. Convinced that the welfare of her dominions depended upon the security of the Protestants, that sagacious queen laid it down as a principle to promote every undertaking of that party which

which tended to diminish the power of Austria. Her successor possessed neither the courage nor the power of pursuing her measures. While the economical Elizabeth opened her treasure to assist the Flemings against Spain, and to support Henry IV. against the League, James abandoned his daughter, grandson, and son-in-law, to the fury of his enemies. While this prince exhausted all his rhetoric to deduce the rights of kings from heaven, he degraded his earthly dominion in the eyes of his subjects. While he preached about the absoluteness of kingly power, he reminded the people of England of their rights, and by an useless expence of treasure abridged his most important prerogative, while he endeavoured to subdue his parliament, and suppress the voice of liberty. A natural horror of a naked sword intimidated him from engaging in the present war*; his favourite, Buckingham, also abused his weakness, and his own vanity rendered him an easy dupe to Spanish arts. While his son-

* This was owing to the fright, as is reported, which his mother received while pregnant of him, from the assassins of Rizzio, her favourite. The same fear of a drawn sword is ascribed by Plutarch and Polybius to the Achean general Aratus, who, on that account, executed his expeditions in the night-time. *Transf.*

in-law's affairs were ruined in Germany, and his grandson's inheritance was alienated, this vain old man amused himself with a treaty of marriage which Spain and Savoy held out to him. In order to divert his attention from the war in Germany, a daughter-in-law was offered to him in Madrid, and he even encouraged his son in the romantic scheme of paying his personal addresses to the princess. His son lost the Spanish bride, as his son-in-law had the crown of Bohemia and the Palatinate; and death only saved himself the mortification of concluding his peaceful administration by a war which he had not the courage to wage at a distance.

The civil commotions excited by this prince's incapacity broke out into a furious rebellion under the reign of his unfortunate son, and compelled the latter, after some inconsiderable efforts, to relinquish every share in the German war, in order to oppose the rage of factions in his own kingdom, to which he at last became the deplorable victim.

Two illustrious monarchs, unequal in personal merit, but distinguished alike by their power and thirst of fame, excited during that period

period the attention of the northern part of Europe. Under the long and active reign of Christian IV. Denmark became a considerable power. The personal accomplishments of this prince, an excellent navy, a formidable army, well-regulated finances, and prudent alliances, contributed to secure the interior prosperity and exterior consequence of that kingdom. Sweden had been rescued by Gustavus Vasa from vassalage, and by its new organization became an important power in the European system of politics. The outline which was traced by this great prince was brought to a conclusion by his still greater descendant, Gustavus Adolphus.

Both kingdoms, formerly united under one monarchy, and enfeebled by this union, were forcibly separated by the Reformation: and this separation was the epocha of their prosperity. This unnatural union was not more disadvantageous, than their subsequent alliance was to their mutual advantage. On both the Protestant church depended, and they were alike interested in preserving the dominion of the sea: they were also equally united against a common enemy; but their long division retarded their sincere union. The Danish

kings would never renounce their right to the crown of Sweden, nor those of Sweden forget the former tyranny of the Danes. The borders of both states, so near each other, continually excited their mutual jealousies, and the vigilance of their sovereigns; and their inevitable jealousy of trade in the Baltic perpetually caused disputes between them.

Amid the means by which Gustavus Vasa, the legislator of the Swedish monarchy, endeavoured to establish its constitution, the reformation of religion was the principal. A fundamental law excluded the followers of popery from all places in the administration, and forbade the future sovereigns of Sweden from altering the national religion; but Gustavus's second son and successor, John, had already embraced popery, and his son Sigismund, also King of Poland, had indulged himself in measures hostile to the reigning religion. To this the states made a violent resistance, and, headed by Charles Duke of Sudermania, commenced a civil war between the uncle and nephew. Charles took advantage of Sigismund's long absence in Poland, and the first displeasure of the states, to open himself and his posterity a way to the throne. His ambition was favoured by the imprudent

imprudent measures of Sigismund. A general diet undertook to change the right of succession, and lay aside that of primogeniture which Gustavus Vasa had established, and placed the Duke of Sudermania on the throne, by which Sigismund and his posterity were excluded.

The son of this prince, who reigned under the title of Charles IX. was father of the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, whom the adherents of Sigismund affected to treat as an usurper. But when animosity arises between the sovereign and his people, when the sentiments of the latter are respected, a nation, by its unanimous voice, may sometimes be permitted to renounce its allegiance to one sovereign, and to supply his place by another more able to govern it,

Gustavus Adolphus had not as yet attained his seventeenth year when he succeeded to the throne by the death of his father: but the early indications he gave of genius induced the states to abridge the period of his minority. By a victory over himself he opened a reign of uninterrupted splendour. The young Countess of Brahe had gained his early affections; and, though the daughter of a subject, he seriously deter-

determined to share with her his throne. But diverted by the present circumstances from his attachment, he now devoted his whole time to the affairs of state, and the thirst of glory again took possession of a bosom which was not exclusively destined for the happiness of any one human being.

Christian IV. King of Denmark, who had ascended the throne before Gustavus's birth, had made an inroad into the borders of Sweden, and obtained considerable advantages over the father of that hero. Gustavus Adolphus hastened to conclude this ruinous war, and by prudent sacrifices obtained a peace, in order to turn his arms against the Czar of Muscovy. Never to obtain the equivocal renown of a conqueror, did he expend, in unjust wars, the blood of his people: at the same time he never abandoned his just pretensions. His arms were crowned with success against Russia, and Sweden was augmented by several extensive provinces upon its eastern frontiers.

In the mean time Sigismund King of Poland retained against the son the same inveterate hatred he had against the father, and used every artifice to detach the subjects of Gustavus Adolphus from

from their allegiance, to render them implacable, and his allies indifferent. Neither the great qualities of his antagonist, nor the attachment of the Swedes to their new king, whom they loved to adoration, could deter that imprudent prince from the vain hope of re-ascending the lost throne. All Gustavus's offers of peace he rejected with scorn, and the Swedish king saw himself engaged, from necessity, in a war which ended in his taking possession of all Livonia and Polish Prussia. Continually victorious, Gustavus Adolphus was ever the first to enter into a pacification.

This contest between Sweden and Poland took place in the commencement of the thirty years war in Germany, with which it is connected. The circumstance of Sigismund's being a Catholic prince, was sufficient to secure him the alliance of Spain and Austria; a closer connexion with the Emperor gave him a double claim to that prince's support. The reliance upon this was what prevailed upon the Polish king to engage in a war which terminated so much to his disadvantage; and promises were all that he obtained from the courts of Madrid and Vienna. While Sigismund lost possession of Livonia, Courland, and Prussia, he saw his
allies

allies in Germany, by an uninterrupted series of victories, make rapid strides to universal dominion. It was not then surprising if his animosity to Sweden kept pace with his losses; the warmth with which he prosecuted his chimerical schemes did not permit him to discern the artful policy of his enemies, who only wished to occupy the Swedish hero at his expense, in order to bring the German liberties under their subjection, and then fall on the exhausted North as an easy conquest. But an unforeseen circumstance, Gustavus's heroic spirit, confounded this false system of politics; an eight years war in Poland, instead of diminishing the power of Sweden, only served to bring Gustavus's military skill to maturity, to form his troops into veterans, and gradually to prepare a system of warfare, by which he afterwards performed such exploits in Germany.

After this necessary digression upon the situation of the European states during that period, I shall now resume the thread of my narration.

Ferdinand had recovered his dominions, but not indemnified himself for the expenses which it had cost him to reconquer them.

Forty millions of florins, which the confiscations in Bohemia produced, would have sufficed to indemnify the costs of himself and his allies; but that immense sum was soon squandered among the Jesuits and his favourites. The Duke of Bavaria, to whose victorious arms Ferdinand was almost entirely indebted for the recovery of his dominions, who had abandoned a nearer relation to devote himself to the service of his religion and that of Ferdinand, had the fairest claims to that Emperor's gratitude; and in an agreement which he had made with the latter before the war, had expressly stipulated the reimbursement of his expenses. Ferdinand felt the power of this promise, and the weight of the service which was rendered him, but was not disposed to reward them at his own cost; his intention was to recompense the Duke in a more brilliant manner. To accomplish this purpose, no better plan could be devised than to bestow upon him the dominions of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, who by his revolt had appeared in some measure to merit chastisement in the eyes of the world. Frederic must therefore be further persecuted and totally ruined, because Maximilian must be rewarded, and a new war commenced in order to defray the expenses of an old one.

But

But a motive of a very different nature confirmed this resolution : Ferdinand had hitherto combated only for existence ; but now victorious, he remembered his higher duties, and the vow which he had made to the blessed Virgin of Loretto, of increasing her dominion at the risk of his life and crown. With this vow the oppression of the Protestants was inseparably connected ; a more favourable opportunity for its fulfilment could not present itself than the present termination of the Bohemian war ; he possessed the power and an appearance of justice in placing the Palatinate in Catholic hands ; and this conquest was of the greatest consequence to the Catholics of Germany. While he rewarded the Duke of Bavaria with the spoils of his kinsman, he gratified his meanest passions ; while he fulfilled his duty, he crushed an enemy whom he hated ; and he saved his ambition a severe sacrifice, while he thought himself promoting the interests of Heaven.

The ruin of Frederic was already resolved on in the Emperor's cabinet long before fortune declared against him ; but it was only after the latter event that he felt the full force of this resolution. A decree of the Emperor, destitute of
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all the formalities required upon such an occasion, declared the Elector Palatine, and three other princes who had borne arms for him in Silesia and Bohemia, traitors towards the Emperor, disturbers of the public peace, and deprived them of their rights and territories. The execution of this sentence, viz. the conquest of Frederic's dominions, in order still further to insult the laws of the Empire, was entrusted to the crown of Spain, as sovereign of the circle of Burgundy, the Duke of Bavaria, and the members of the League. Had the Evangelic Union been worthy of the name which it bore, and the cause which it defended, the execution of this decree would have met with insurmountable obstacles; but a contemptible military force, which was scarcely able to resist the Spanish army in the Lower Palatinate, must yield before the united force of Austria, Bavaria, and the League. The sentence which the diet pronounced upon the Elector, detached the free cities immediately from the confederacy, and the princes soon followed their example. Esteeming themselves sufficiently fortunate in saving their dominions, they abandoned the Elector, their former chief, to his fate, renounced the Union, and determined to renew it no more.

Thus did the German princes shamefully desert the unfortunate Frederic; and Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, yielded to the Emperor; while a single man, a child of fortune, whose riches consisted in his sword, Ernest Count Mansfeld, dared, in the Bohemian town of Pilsen, to defy the whole power of Austria. Left without assistance by the Elector, to whose service he had devoted himself, and uncertain whether this prince would be grateful to him for his attachment, he defended the town a considerable time against the Imperial troops, until his garrison having mutinied from want of pay, sold it to the enemy. Undismayed by this reverse, he soon after established *depots* in the Upper Palatinate, to enlist the troops who were disbanded by the members of the Union. An army of 20,000 men was soon collected under his orders, the more formidable to the country, as it subsisted only by plunder. All the neighbouring bishoprics trembled for their riches. But Mansfeld was forced to retire before the Duke of Bavaria, who, as executor of the decree of the diet, entered the Upper Palatinate. After having by a fortunate stratagem eluded the Bavarian general Tilly, he suddenly appeared in the Lower Palatinate, and exercised upon the bishoprics of the Rhine

the severities which he had intended against those of Franconia. While the Imperial-Bavarian army over-ran Bohemia, a considerable body of troops under Ambrose Spinola, the Spanish general, entered the Lower Palatinate, though the treaty of Ulm permitted the Union to protect this territory. But measures were so ill concerted, that one place fell after the other into the enemy's hands, and the greater part of the country was in possession of the troops of Spain. The Spanish general Cordova suddenly raised the siege of Frankenthal when Mansfeld entered the Lower Palatinate; but instead of expelling the Spaniards from this province, he hastened to cross the Rhine to subsist his needy troops in Alsace; the dreadful devastation which those troops had occasioned in the open country, was avoided in the towns, which saved themselves by large contributions from plunder. Reinforced by this expedition, Mansfeld again appeared on the Rhine to cover the Lower Palatinate.

While such a general existed, Frederic's ruin was not irremediable; new prospects opened themselves to his view, and his misfortunes acquired him friends who were neuter in his prosperity. King James of England, who had

with indifference beheld his son-in-law lose the Bohemian throne, was at length aroused from his inactivity when the victorious enemy proceeded to make attempts upon the electoral dignity. He, however, too late opened his treasures, and supported Count Mansfeld with troops and money in the Lower Palatinate; his near relation, Christian King of Denmark, was engaged in the quarrel by his means. The expiration of the truce between Spain and Holland deprived the Emperor of every hope of succour from the Netherlands; the Protestants received very important promises, on the contrary, from Transilvania and Hungary. The cessation of hostilities between Bethlen Gabor and the Emperor was no sooner ended, than that implacable enemy of Austria over-ran Hungary, and caused himself to be crowned as king in Presburg; so rapid was his progress, that Bucquoi was obliged to abandon Bohemia, in order to defend Hungary against Gabor. That consummate general, however, fell at the siege of Neuhausel, and Dampierre, his brave companion, had already shared the same fate before Presburg. Gabor's progress into the Austrian territories were irresistible; the old Count Thurn, and several other Bohemian noblemen of distinction, had joined this formidable

dable enemy against the Emperor. Had a vigorous attack been made on the side of Germany, while Gabor employed the Emperor's arms in Hungary, it might have speedily retrieved Frederic's losses; but by a peculiar misfortune, both Gabor and the Germans always laid down their arms alternately, according as the one or the other had uplifted them.

Meantime Frederic had not delayed to join Mansfeld; he entered in disguise the Lower Palatinate, where possession was disputed between Mansfeld and the Bavarian general Tilly. A ray of hope appeared when new allies arose from the ruins of the Union. George Frederic, Margrave of Baden, had for some time begun to assemble a military force, which soon grew into a considerable army; its destination was a secret until it suddenly took the field and joined Count Mansfeld; his margraviate he had already resigned to his son, in order, if fortune was should be unpropitious, to avert by this stratagem the consequences of the Emperor's indignation. The Duke of Wirtemberg also began to augment his army; the Palatine was by these means encouraged to make efforts to revive the Union. Tilly was now constrained to consult his own safety, and

he called with the utmost haste the Spanish general Cordova to his assistance. But while their enemies united, Mansfeld separated from the Margrave of Baden, and the latter was defeated by the Bavarian general in 1622 at Wimpfen.

An adventurer without money, the legitimacy of whose birth was even disputed, had shown himself the defender of a king, whose nearest relations, and even his own father-in-law, abandoned. A sovereign left his territories, where he reigned in peace, for the uncertain prospect of possessing a foreign crown at the hazard of a war; an unexperienced champion, weak in strength, but illustrious by descent, he undertook the defence of a cause which he had not courage to prosecute. Christian Duke of Brunswic, administrator of Halberstadt, appeared to have borrowed from Mansfeld the idea of maintaining an army of 20,000 men without pay. Excited by youthful impetuosity, and eager to obtain reputation at the expense of the Catholic clergy, whom he cordially detested, and also desirous of plunder, he assembled a considerable army in Lower Saxony, under the pretext of espousing Frederic's cause and Germany's freedom. *Friend to God and enemy to priesthood,*
was

was the motto he chose for his standards, and for his coin, composed of church plate; and to this he rigidly adhered in his conduct.

The progress of this banditti was distinguished, as usual, by the most terrible devastations. Enriched by the spoils of the Lower Saxon and Westphalian chapters, they collected force sufficient to plunder the bishoprics of the Upper Rhine; expelled from thence both by friends and enemies, the Administrator marched to the town of Hoechst, upon the Mayn, which he passed after a murderous action with Tilly, who disputed with him the passage of that river. With the loss of half his army, he reached the opposite banks, where he collected its broken remains, at whose head he joined Count Mansfeld. Pursued by Tilly, their united forces threw themselves into Alsace, in order to renew their former ravages. While the Elector Frederic followed as a fugitive the standards of an army which still acknowledged him as king, and flattered him with that title, his friends were busied in effecting his reconciliation with the Emperor. Ferdinand had not yet deprived these of hopes of reinstating Frederic in his dignity as Elector Palatine; full of artifice and cunning, he pretended to be will-

ing to enter into a negotiation, which would damp their ardour in the field and prevent extremities. King James of England, ever the dupe of Austrian cunning, contributed by his ridiculous interference to promote the Emperor's schemes; above all things, Ferdinand required Frederic to lay down his arms if he depended upon his clemency, and James found this demand uncommonly reasonable. At his instigation the Elector dismissed his only defenders, Count Mansfeld and the Administrator, and awaited in Holland his destiny from the Emperor's clemency.

Mansfeld and Duke Christian were now embarrassed from the want of a new cause of tumult; the defence of the Elector Palatine had set them in motion, and his dismissal could not disarm them; a war was their only wish, regardless of the cause in which it was waged. After some vain efforts of Mansfeld to be taken into the Emperor's service, both of these leaders went to Lorrain, where the irregularities committed by their troops excited terror even in the interior of France. Here they long remained in a disagreeable state of dependance upon a master who hesitated to employ them, until the Dutch, hard pressed by the Spanish
general

general Spinola, offered to take them into pay. After a murderous action with the Spaniards at Fleurus, where the latter endeavoured to intercept them, they made their way into Holland, and compelled the Spanish general to raise the siege of Bergen-op-zoom. But even Holland was soon weary of their unwelcome guests, and took the first opportunity of declining their services. In the rich province of East Friesland, Mansfeld prepared his troops for new enterprises. The Duke of Brunswick, passionately enamoured of the Electress Palatine, whom he had known in Holland, and more disposed for war than ever, led back his troops to Lower Saxony, bearing as a cockade the glove of that princess in his hat, and on his standards the following motto: “ *All for God and you.*” Neither was either as yet destined to conclude his career in this war.

The Imperial territories were now freed from their enemies, the Union dissolved, the Margrave of Baden, Mansfeld, and the Duke of Brunswick beaten out of the field, and the Palatinate overrun by the executive troops of the Empire*.

* In case any one state of the Empire is refractory, the army of a neighbouring territory is ordered to execute the sentence of the diet. This happened at Liege in 1790. *Transf.*

Manheim and Heidelberg yielded to the Bavarians, and in a short time Frankenthal was in possession of the Spaniards. The Elector Palatine shamefully concealed himself in a corner of Holland, to appease, by an abject submission, the Emperor's vengeance. An electoral diet at Ratibon was at length appointed to decide his fate. This resolution had long been formed by the Court of Vienna; but it had not hitherto found an opportunity of putting it in execution. After the steps already taken against this Elector, Ferdinand thought no further measures should be held with him. Security was only to be obtained by excessive severity. Frederic must, therefore, reconcile himself to his losses; and a prince without dominions or subjects could no longer possess the electoral dignity. The Duke of Bavaria exalted himself upon the ruins of this prince. In proportion as the hatred of the Catholics and of Austria increased against the Protestants of the Palatinate, the more they were indebted to Bavarian zeal. At length, by the cession of the electorate Palatine to that of Bavaria, the Catholic religion acquired a decisive weight in the College of Electors, and obtained it a lasting victory in Germany.

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This was sufficient to secure the three ecclesiastical electorates; the vote of that of Saxony was alone of consideration among the Protestants. But could this Elector oppose the Emperor in a dispute which involved his title? To a prince who had staked his all at the head of the Protestants of Germany, nothing would be more dear than the defence of their cause against popery. But the present question was, which religion should be victorious, and who should obtain possession of the Palatine territories, and, under the pressure of opposite duties, to conceal private hatred and interests. In his proceedings against the Palatinate the opposition which the Emperor met from the Elector of Saxony, though naturally at the head of the Protestant religion, and of German freedom, was merely a form. If John George afterwards opposed him, Ferdinand was the aggressor, by banishing the Protestant preachers out of Bohemia. But the rewarding of Bavaria with the Palatinate was no longer a matter of surprise, when it was known, that for a consideration of six millions of dollars, the Emperor ceded Lusatia to the Elector of Saxony.

Thus, in defiance of all the Protestants of Germany, in opposition to the constitution of
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the Empire, which by his coronation oath he had sworn to maintain, did Ferdinand solemnly invest the Duke of Bavaria, at Ratibon, with the electorate Palatine, reserving, as was said, the legal claims which Frederic's posterity might establish. That unfortunate prince now saw himself irretrievably ruined, without being so much as heard in his own defence before the tribunal which condemned him; a privilege which the law grants to the meanest subject, even in cases of the most atrocious nature.

This violent action at length opened the eyes of the King of England, about the time that his son's marriage with a princess of Spain was broke off; and James at length began seriously to espouse the cause of his son-in-law. A revolution in the French ministry placed Cardinal Richelieu at the head of affairs, and that deeply decayed kingdom soon felt the advantages of his administration. The efforts of the Spanish viceroy of Milan to make himself master of Veltlino, and obtain a rallying point with the hereditary states of Austria, awakened the old dread of this power, and with it the state maxims of Henry the Great. A marriage between the Prince of Wales and Henrietta

Henrietta of France united these powers in a closer connexion, in which they were joined by Holland, Denmark, and some of the states of Italy. The proposed design was, to recover by arms Veltlino from Spain, and compel Austria to reinstate the Elector Palatine; but only the first of those designs was prosecuted with vigour. James I. died, and Charles I. engaged in a quarrel with his parliament, could no longer bestow attention on the affairs of Germany. Savoy and Venice withheld their assistance, and the French minister thought he must first subdue the Hugonots in his own country previous to his supporting the German Protestants against the Emperor. Thus ended the hopes conceived from this confederacy.

Count Mansfeld, deprived of all support, remained inactive on the Lower Rhine, and the Duke of Brunswic, after an unfortunate campaign, was driven out of Germany. A new inroad of Bethlen Gabor into Moravia, not being supported by the Germans, terminated in a formal peace with the Emperor. The Union was dissolved, no Protestant prince was longer in arms, and the Bavarian general Tilly commanded on the borders of Lower Germany
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a victorious army, amid Protestant states. The movements of the Duke of Brunswic had already led him to this part of the Empire, and even into the circle of Lower Saxony, where he made himself master of that prince's magazines in Lepstadt. The necessity of watching this enemy, and preventing his further inroads, must now justify Tilly's remaining in those parts. But both Mansfeld and the Duke of Brünswic had dismissed their army from want of money, and Tilly no longer saw an enemy before him. He could therefore have no pretext to burden the country.

Amid the voice of parties it is difficult to discover the truth; but it appeared a serious matter that the members of the League did not disarm themselves. The intemperate rejoicings of the Catholics increased the alarm. The Emperor and the League were victorious in Germany, and there was no power which could resist them, were they even disposed to break the treaty, and entirely crush the Protestants. If the Emperor was not even disposed to disturb the Protestants, their defenceless situation encouraged him to it. Obsolete conventions could not bind a prince who thought he owed all to his religion, and in whose eyes every design

sign to promote it acquired a sanction. Upper Germany was already subjected, and it was in Lower Germany alone that his progress might meet with some opposition. Here the Protestant religion predominated, the Catholics had been forcibly deprived of their chapters, and this moment appeared favourable to recover them. A great part of the strength of the Lower German princes consisted in those chapters, and the recovery of the lost domains of the church gave the Catholics an excellent pretext to weaken the former.

It would have been an unpardonable negligence to have remained inactive at such a period. The remembrance of the ravages which Tilly's soldiers committed in Lower Germany was too recent not to excite the states of that country to their self-defence. With all possible haste the circle of Lower Saxony betook itself to arms; extraordinary contributions were raised, troops collected, and magazines formed. Negotiations for subsidies were entered into with Holland, Venice, and England. It was deliberated which power should be placed at the head of this confederacy. The masters of the Sound, and of the Baltic, could not with indifference behold the Emperor approach them

them as a conqueror, and establish himself on the borders of the North Sea. The double interests of religion and state required them to be attentive to his motions in Lower Germany. Christian IV. King of Denmark, as Duke of Holstein, esteemed himself a member of the states of this circle. By equally powerful considerations Gustavus Adolphus was induced to join this confederacy.

But those kings vied with each other for the honour of defending Lower Germany. Both determined to raise formidable armies, and lead them in person against the alarming power of Austria. The promises of the latter king acquired additional strength from victorious campaigns against Muscovy and Poland. But his renown excited envy in the bosom of the Danish monarch; and the more laurels he could now promise himself, the more he was exposed to the envy of his competitor. They laid their plans before the English ministry, where Christian at length succeeded in obtaining the preference to Gustavus. The latter required as a security the possession of some fortifications in Germany, where he had himself no territory, in order to secure a retreat in case of need. Christian IV. had Holstein and Jutland

land through which, if vanquished, he might effect his retreat.

Eager to exceed his competitor in activity, the King of Denmark hastened to take the field. Appointed generalissimo of the circle of Lower Saxony, he soon assembled an army of 60,000 men; and was joined by the Administrator of Magdeburg, and the Dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburg. Encouraged by the hopes of assistance from England, and with such great preparations, he flattered himself with the hope of terminating the war in one campaign. Information was sent to Vienna that this armament was destined only to defend the circle and maintain the peace. But the negotiations with Holland and England, and even with France, appeared to embrace more than defensive operations, and seemed to aim at a total re-establishment of the Elector Palatine, and the humiliation of Austrian greatness.

After the Emperor had in vain had recourse to negotiations, exhortations, threats, and orders, to induce the King of Denmark and the circle of Lower Saxony to lay down their arms, hostilities commenced, and Lower Germany was the theatre of operations. Tilly marched along

the left bank of the Weser, and made himself master of all the passes as far as Minden. After a fruitless attack upon Nienburg, and his passage of the river, he overran the principality of Calenburg, in which he quartered his troops. The King acted on the opposite side of the river, and spread his forces over the Dutchy of Brunswic; but having weakened his army by too powerful detachments, he could not engage in any important undertaking with the remainder. Acquainted with the enemy's superiority, he avoided a battle with as much care as his adversary sought one.

The Emperor had hitherto made use only of the arms of Bavaria and the League in Germany, if the Spanish Walloon reinforcements are excepted, which fell into the Lower Palatinate. The Duke of Bavaria carried on the war, as commander in chief of the army of execution; and Tilly, who was at the head of that army, was in his service. He was indebted to the arms of Bavaria and the League for his successes, and on them depended his consequence, which but ill agreed with the great schemes which so brilliant a commencement of the war induced the Court of Vienna to form.

Notwithstanding the efforts which the League had made in the Emperor's defence, it was by no means likely that they would carry their complaisance so far as to support him in his plan of making conquests: or even if they lent their armies for such a purpose, it was more than probable they would soon create a jealousy in the Emperor, who would endeavour to convert all their conquests to his own advantage. A formidable army under his own immediate orders would alone free him from his dependence upon Bavaria, and secure him the superiority which he had obtained in Germany. But the Austrian territories were too much exhausted by the war to sustain the enormous expenses of such an armament. Under such circumstances, nothing could be more agreeable to the Emperor than a proposal which one of his officers unexpectedly made him.

This was Count Wallenstein, an experienced soldier, and the richest nobleman in Bohemia. From his earliest youth he had devoted himself to the service of Austria, and had gained considerable reputation in several campaigns against the Turks, Venetians, Bohemians, Hungarians, and Transilvanians. At the battle of Prague he was colonel; and afterwards, as

major-general, defeated a Hungarian army in Moravia. The Emperor's gratitude equalled these services, and a considerable portion of the confiscated estates in Bohemia was bestowed on him. Possessed of an immense property, and excited by ambition, full of reliance upon his fortunate stars, and still more encouraged by the existing circumstances, he offered the Emperor, at his friends' expense and his own, to raise, clothe, and fully accoutre, an army. He went so far even as to undertake the payment of it, provided he was allowed to augment it to 50,000 men. This project was ridiculed by all as chimerical, but yet it was an important matter to fulfil its promises even in part. A few circles in Bohemia were appointed to serve as depots, and he was allowed the promotion of his officers. In a short time he collected an army 20,000 strong, with which he left the Austrian borders; and soon after he appeared at the head of 30,000 men in Lower Saxony. The Emperor had lent this armament nothing but his name. The reputation of the general, the hope of promotion and of booty, collected adventurers from all parts of Germany; and even sovereign princes, excited by a thirst for glory, or a de-

fire

fire of gain, now offered to raise regiments for the Austrian service.

An Imperial army now appeared, for the first time, in Germany; an event peculiarly dreadful to the Protestants, and not much more acceptable to the Catholics. Wallenstein had orders to join the army of the League, and in conjunction with the Bavarian general, to attack the King of Denmark. But, long jealous of Tilly's reputation, he showed no disposition to share with him the laurels of the campaign, and to lose his own fame in the lustre of that of his competitor for glory. His plan of operations confounded that of the latter, but he nevertheless persevered in it. As he wanted the resources from which Tilly supplied his army, he was under the necessity of leading his troops into fertile countries which had not suffered by the war. Without obeying his orders to form a junction with the troops of the League, he entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, and at Dessau made himself master of the Elbe. The countries on both sides of this river lay open to his contributions; he was by these means enabled to fall on the King of Denmark's rear, and even,

if necessary, could open a passage into that prince's territories.

Christian IV. felt the whole force of his danger between two such numerous armies. He had lately been joined by the Administrator of Halberstadt, who was returned from Holland; and he now openly declared for Count Mansfeld, whom he had hitherto discarded, and supported him according to his ability. Mansfeld amply repaid this service. He alone kept Wallenstein's army on the Elbe at bay, and prevented its junction with that of Tilly. Notwithstanding the enemy's superiority, this intrepid general approached the bridge of Dessau, and ventured to entrench himself before the Imperial lines on the opposite side. But having been surrounded by the enemy, he was obliged to yield to superior numbers, and constrained to abandon his post, with the loss of 3000 men killed. After this defeat Mansfeld withdrew into Brandenburg, whence, after having somewhat refreshed and reinforced his troops, he suddenly turned towards Silesia, in order from thence to march into Hungary, and, in conjunction with Bethlen Gabor, to carry the war into the heart of the Austrian states. As the Austrian dominions in this quarter were exposed to an enemy,

my, Wallenstein received immediate orders to lose sight of the King of Denmark, and, if possible, to interrupt Mansfeld's progress through Silesia.

The diversion which Mansfeld made in Wallenstein's army enabled the King to detach a part of his force into Westphalia, in order to take possession of the bishoprics of Munster and Osnaburg. To prevent this, Tilly suddenly left the Weser; but the movements of the Duke of Brunswic, who appeared desirous of entering the territories of the League, and removing the seat of war thither, recalled him in all haste from Westphalia. In order to avoid being cut off from this province, and to prevent a dangerous junction between the Landgrave of Hesse and the enemy, Tilly immediately seized all the tenable posts on the Fulda and Werha, and secured himself in Minden, at the entrance of the Hessian mountains, on the conflux of both those rivers. He soon after took Gottingen, the key of Brunswic and Hesse, and was preparing to make himself master of Nordheim, when the King advanced against him with his whole army. After the latter had furnished this place with all the necessaries for sustaining a long siege, he endeavoured to open himself

a passage into the territories of the League, through Eichsfeld and Thuringia. He had already gained Duderstadt, when by a rapid march Tilly overtook him. As the latter had been reinforced by some of Wallenstein's regiments, and was superior in numbers, the King turned towards Brunswic to avoid the battle. But Tilly incessantly harassed his rear, and after three days skirmishing he was at length obliged to await the enemy at the village of Lutteron Baenburg. The Danes commenced the attack with great impetuosity, and their intrepid King led them three times against the enemy; but at length the weaker must yield to the stronger, and to the superior discipline of the Imperialists, and a complete victory was obtained by the general of the League. The Danes lost sixteen colours, with all their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. Several officers of distinction, together with 4000 men, were killed on the field of battle: thirty companies of foot, who, during the flight, had thrown themselves into the town-house of Lutter, laid down their arms, and surrendered to the conqueror.

The King fled with his cavalry, and soon after collected the shattered remains of his army.

army. Tilly pursued his victory, made himself master of the Weser, and of the territories of Brunswic, and drove the King to Bremen. Rendered more cautious by defeat, the latter was now determined to act defensively, and particularly to guard the passage of the Elbe against the enemy; but while he garrisoned every tenable place, his divided force became inactive, and his scattered corps were one after the other either destroyed or dispersed. The troops of the League, masters of the Weser, spread themselves along the Elbe and the Havel, and every where drove the Danes before them. Tilly himself had already penetrated far into the territories of Brandenburg with his victorious arms, while Wallenstein, on the other hand, entered Holstein, to remove the seat of war to the King's own territories.

This general was returned from Hungary, whither he had followed Mansfeld without being able to impede his march, or prevent his junction with Bethlen Gabor. Always persecuted by fortune only to rise superior to it, that general, after endless difficulties, fought his way through Silesia and Hungary to the Prince of Transilvania, to whom, however, he was not a welcome guest. Relying upon the
assistance

assistance of England, and a powerful diversion in Lower Saxony, Gabor had anew broken the truce with the Emperor; and instead of the expected diversion, Mansfeld now drew upon him all Wallenstein's army, and required from him the pecuniary aid which he himself wanted from others. The little harmony that reigned among the Protestant princes abated Gabor's zeal, and he hastened, as usual, to avert the superior force of the Emperor by a speedy peace; determined, however, to break it on the first ray of hope, he directed Mansfeld to apply for assistance to the republic of Venice.

Cut off from Germany, and wholly unable to subsist the weak remains of his troops in Hungary, Mansfeld sold his artillery, &c. and diminished his soldiers; he himself passed with a small train of attendants through Bosnia and Dalmatia towards Venice. But his career was ended; fate, which so sported with him during life, prepared for him in Dalmatia a grave: death overtook him near Zara* (1626).

* This extraordinary man, who might be numbered among Plutarch's heroes, was the natural son of an Austrian general, and had been legitimated by the Emperor Rodolph. He served his first campaigns in Hungary, under the Archduke

(1626). A short time before died the faithful companion of his fortunes, Christian Duke of Brunswick; two men with fair claims to immortality, they elevated themselves superior to their age and their destiny.

The King of Denmark, with a complete army, had been unable to resist Tilly alone: it could not therefore be expected that, with a shattered force, he should now be able to oppose the two Imperial generals united. The Danes retired from all their posts upon the Weser, Elbe, and Havel; and Wallenstein's army overspread Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Holstein, and Sleswig. This general, too proud to act in

duke Charles; he afterwards entered the Spanish, and then the service of Savoy, and died in that of the Elector Palatine. He was often beat, but never conquered, and appeared after his defeats more formidable than before; he was inconstant, and loved troublesome times, and bore the greatest hardships with indifference; he was an expert negotiator, and a persuasive orator; always poor, his sword being his only patrimony; he every where fought war, and was every where the terror of his enemies.

Perceiving the approach of death, he threw on his uniform, girded his sword, and was held upright, standing by two of his officers. In this posture he expired; a trait seemingly misplaced in the situation of a dying man, but characteristic of a great soul. He died in his forty-sixth year, and was buried in Spalatro. *Transf.*

conjunction with another, had detached Tilly over the Elbe, to watch the motions of the Dutch; but in reality this was a pretext to have the merit of terminating the Danish war, and to reap the harvest of Tilly's laurels. Christian lost all his German fortresses except Glückstadt, his army was beaten and dispersed, he received no aid from Germany, and but little consolation from England, and his allies in Lower Saxony were abandoned to the enemy's fury. Tilly had, immediately after the victory at Lutter, compelled the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel to renounce the Danish alliance; Wallenstein's formidable appearance before Berlin compelled the Elector of Brandenburg to acknowledge Maximilian of Bavaria as a lawful elector. The greater part of Mecklenburg was now over-run by the Imperial troops; both its Dukes *, as allies of the Danish king, were put to the bann of the Empire, and expelled from their territories. Thus was the defence of the German liberty against unjust attacks, punished as a crime, with the loss of dignity and property; yet even this was only a prelude to the more tyrannical proceedings which followed.

* Schwerin and Strelitz. *Transf.*

The secret now came to light in what manner Wallenstein was to fulfil his extravagant promises; he had learned it from Mansfeld, but the scholar surpassed his master. Having established it as a maxim that one war must be supported by another, Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunswic subsisted their troops by the contributions which they indiscriminately raised among friends and enemies; but this thievish life was attended with all the uncertainty and inconvenience which accompany robbery. Obligated, in quest of prey, to roam from one end of Germany to the other, their motions were narrowly watched, and they were sometimes obliged to abandon the richest countries upon the appearance of a superior enemy. But if Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunswic had done such great things while they had so many obstacles to surmount, how much more might now be performed when these obstacles were all removed; when the army raised was sufficient to overawe the most powerful states in the Empire; when the Emperor's name insured impunity to every act of violence; in short, when the first authority of the Empire, supported by a formidable army, had determined to pursue the same system of warfare which two adventurers, at the head

head of an irregular multitude, had practised in their own defence.

Wallenstein had this plan in view when he laid before the Emperor his bold project, which was no longer found surprising to mankind. The more the army was increased, the easier it was subsisted, because its superiority crushed every opposition; the more violent the actions, the more they assured impunity to the perpetrators; there was some colour of justice in oppressing such states as were refractory; the oppression of those who had maintained their allegiance was justified upon the grounds of necessity. This unequal treatment of the states prevented a dangerous union between them; the exhausted situation of their territories restrained them from exertions. All Germany, after this manner, became a magazine to the Imperial army, and the Emperor was equally absolute in the territories of the Empire, as in his own hereditary dominions; the clamour for justice was incessant before the Imperial throne, but such as had recourse to it were secured against the indignation of the oppressed princes. The cry of discontent was levelled against the Emperor, who lent his name to those violences, and against his general, who exceeded his

his power and openly abused the authority of his master. Recourse was had to the Emperor for protection against his general; but Wallenstein no sooner saw himself absolute in his army, than he threw off his allegiance to his sovereign.

The exhausted situation of the enemy gave room to hope for a speedy peace; nevertheless Wallenstein continued to augment the Imperial armies, until at length he had rendered them a hundred thousand strong. Colonels and inferior officers, commissions innumerable, a regal pomp, immoderate largesses to his favourites (for he never gave less than a thousand florins), immense sums employed in corrupting the Court of Vienna, in order to maintain his authority; all this was done without burdening the Emperor. These enormous supplies were drawn from the provinces of Lower Germany, where no distinction was made between friend and enemy, and where all was treated as a conquered country. If credit may be given to a loose calculation made at that period, Wallenstein, during the seven years of his command, raised no less than sixty thousand millions of dollars from one half of Germany. The greater were his contributions, the more his army increased and his supplies were aug-

mented ; his standards were resorted to from every quarter, for all mankind are attracted by good fortune ; his army increased prodigiously, while every country through which it passed felt its ravages. In such circumstances, the detestation of the people and the complaints of the princes were of little consequence while he was supported by so great a force ; guilt itself put him in a condition to defy any bad consequences which might arise from it.

In justice to the Emperor, he must not be regarded as the author of the irregularities committed by his troops. Had Ferdinand known that he abandoned the German states to the rapacity of his general, he must also have been sensible of the danger to which his own authority was exposed from such a commander's uncontrolled power ; the close union between the general and his army must have relaxed the good understanding between the Emperor and both. It is true, every transaction was sanctioned by the Imperial name, but Wallenstein used that of the chief of the Empire, only the easier to oppress the other German states ; hence arose this man's maxim, to depress the princes of the Empire, to destroy all gradations of rank between the latter and the Emperor, whose

whose power he secured, and resolved to elevate beyond all competition. Were the Emperor the only dispenser of law in Germany, what would then control the man to whom he entrusted the execution of his orders? The height to which Wallenstein raised the Emperor's power, astonished even the latter; but as the greatness of the master was entirely the work of the servant, it returned to its former insignificance so soon as it wanted the support of its founder. He artfully inflamed the minds of the princes of the Empire against the Emperor, because, the greater their hatred was, the more indispensable did the services of a man become who alone could protect him against their indignation. His design insensibly appeared to be, that the Emperor should be wholly independent of every person in Germany except of him, to whom he owed that independence.

One step towards this was, that Wallenstein demanded possession of Mecklenburg as a pledge for the payment of the money which he had advanced the Emperor in the preceding campaign. The Emperor had already begun to elevate his own above the Bavarian general, and raised the former to the dignity of Duke of

Friedland; but an ordinary recompence could not satisfy Wallenstein's ambition. In vain did his new claim meet with opposition in the Imperial council, because it must be granted at the expense of two princes of the Empire; in vain did the Spaniards, long offended at his haughty demeanour, oppose his elevation; the powerful interest which Wallenstein possessed by corruption among the Imperial privy counsellors prevailed. Ferdinand was determined to attach to himself, at all hazards, a man whose services he could not dispense with; the heirs of one of the most ancient houses in Germany were expelled their inheritance, in order to enrich a creature of the Emperor with their spoils. (1628.)

Wallenstein soon after began to assume the title of Imperial generalissimo by land and sea. The town of Wismar was taken, to obtain a firmer footing on the Baltic; ships were required from Poland and the Hanseatic towns, in order to carry on the war on that sea, to pursue the Danes into the interior of their country, and compel them to a peace, which was to serve as a prelude to still greater conquests. The alliance between the northern German states and the kingdoms of the North would

would be dissolved, if the Emperor could place himself between both, and surround Germany, from the Adriatic sea to the Sound (for Poland was already dependant on him); with an extensive chain of territories. If such was the Emperor's plan, it was no less Wallenstein's interest to pursue it. Possessions on the Baltic were intended as the foundation of a power, the establishment of which had long been the object of his ambition, and which might make him independent of his sovereign.

To obtain this end, it was of the utmost importance to get possession of the town of Stralsund, on the Baltic; its excellent harbour, and the short passage from thence to the coasts of Sweden and Denmark, rendered it peculiarly fitted for a place of arms to wage war against both those kingdoms. This town, the sixth in the Hanseatic League, enjoyed, under the protection of the Duke of Pomerania, the most important privileges, and had not hitherto borne the least share in the war; yet neither its neutrality nor its privileges could secure it against the usurpations of Wallenstein, whose designs were directed towards it.

The proposal of receiving an Imperial garrison, which this general made to the magistrates of Stralsund, was rejected by them with firmness; a deceitful request of marching his troops through the town, met with no better success. He now, therefore, determined to besiege it.

It was of the utmost consequence to both the northern kings to maintain the independence of Stralsund, without which the navigation of the Baltic could not be preserved. Their common danger at length overcame the private jealousies which had long subsisted between both kings: at a convention held in Copenhagen in 1628, they mutually engaged to defend Stralsund with their united strength, and to resist every power which should enter the Baltic with hostile intentions. Christian IV. immediately upon this, threw a sufficient garrison into Stralsund, and encouraged its inhabitants by his personal appearance among them; some ships of war which Sigismund King of Poland had sent the Imperial general, were sunk by the Danish fleet; and as Lubec refused him aid, Wallenstein had not ships sufficient to blockade even the harbour of this one town.

Nothing

Nothing appeared more absurd than to attempt the conquest of a sea-port, strongly fortified, without first blockading its harbour. Wallenstein, who had hitherto experienced no resistance, would willingly overcome nature and perform impossibilities. Stralsund, open towards the sea, still continued to supply itself with provisions, and reinforce its garrison; nevertheless Wallenstein surrounded it on the land side, and endeavoured by boasting threats to supply the want of real strength. "*I will take this town,*" said he, "*though it were fastened by a chain to the heavens.*" The Emperor, who might have repented an undertaking of which he promised himself no favourable issue, received with eagerness the apparent submission and acceptable offers of the inhabitants of Stralsund, and gave orders to his generals to raise the siege; Wallenstein despised this order, and made repeated attacks upon the garrison. As the fatigue was become too great for the remainder of the Danish troops, already considerably diminished, and the King found it inconvenient to reinforce them, Stralsund, with Christian's consent, applied to the King of Sweden; the Danish commander evacuated the town, in order to make way for a Swedish garrison, who defended it with the most fortu-

nate success. Wallenstein's good fortune failed him before this town, and, for the first time, he had the sensible mortification of being, after several months efforts, obliged to abandon his enterprise, with the loss of twelve thousand men killed. The necessity under which he put this town to apply for Swedish assistance, brought on a close alliance between Gustavus Adolphus and Stralsund, which afterwards not a little facilitated the entrance of the Swedes into Germany.

Hitherto fortune had accompanied the arms of the League and the Emperor, and Christian IV. vanquished in Germany, saw himself obliged to take refuge in his islands; but the Baltic stopped the progress of the conquerors. Their want of ships prevented them from pursuing the King, and even put them in danger of losing their conquests. The union of the two northern kings was peculiarly to be feared, because, if they acted with firmness, they made it impossible for the Emperor and his generals to obtain a footing on the Baltic, or effect a landing in Sweden. Were it, however, possible to divide the interests of both kings, and in particular to secure the alliance of the Danish monarch, it would be more practicable to over-
come



THIRTY YEARS WAR.

come the single power of Sweden. The dread of foreign influence, violent commotions among his own Protestant subjects, the great expenses of the war, and, still more, the storm which threatened the Protestant part of Germany, at length disposed the Emperor to a peace, which his general, from very opposite motives, laboured to effect: far from desiring a peace, which from the meridian of his greatness would reduce him to the obscurity of a private man, he only wished to change the theatre of war, and thus to prolong the troubles. The friendship of Denmark, whose neighbour he was become as Duke of Mecklenburg, was of the utmost consequence for the accomplishment of his extensive projects, and he determined, even by sacrificing his master's interests, to obtain the alliance of that court.

Christian IV. had expressly engaged, in the treaty of Copenhagen, to conclude no separate peace with the Emperor without Sweden's consent; notwithstanding Wallenstein's offer was gladly received by him. At a congress held at Lubec in 1629, from which Wallenstein dismissed the Swedish ambassadors, who came to intercede for the Dukes of Mecklenburg, with studied contempt, all the conquests taken from

the Dances were restored to them. This necessary peace was purchased by Christian only at the expense of his honour; he was forbid to interfere in future in the transactions of Germany, as he was entitled to do from his quality of Duke of Holstein, and compelled to renounce all claim to the regulation of the Lower German chapters, and abandon the Dukes of Mecklenburg to their fate. Christian himself had involved these princes in a war with the Emperor; he now sacrificed them to gain the favour of the usurper of their states. Among the motives which excited him to a war with the Emperor, the reinstatement of the Elector Palatine, his relation, was not the least; yet was this prince not so much as once mentioned in the treaty of Lubec, and one of its articles even recognised the Bavarian right of election. With such little reputation did Christian IV. leave the scene of action.

Ferdinand had now, for the second time, the tranquillity of Germany in his own power, and it depended only upon him to change the treaty with Denmark into a general peace. From all quarters he was assailed by the cries of the unfortunate, who bewailed their afflictions; the cruelty of his soldiers, the rapacity

I. city

city of his generals, had exceeded all bounds. Germany, laid waste by the savages of Mansfeld's and the Duke of Brunswic's armies, and the more destructive bands of Tilly and Wallenstein, lay bleeding, exhausted, desolate, and fighed for tranquillity; the states of the Empire ardently desired peace, the Emperor himself earnestly wished for it, being engaged in a war in Upper Italy with France, exhausted by that which he had hitherto waged in Germany, and apprehensive of the payment of expenses which was expected from him. But unfortunately, the conditions upon which both religious parties sheathed the sword, contradicted each other; the Catholics were desirous to terminate this war to their own advantage, the Protestants had equal pretensions: the Emperor, instead of uniting both by a prudent moderation, declared himself for one party; and thus did Germany anew precipitate itself into the horrors of a destructive war.

Since the termination of the Bohemian troubles, Ferdinand had commenced the counter-reformation in his hereditary dominions, which, however, from regard towards some Protestant states, was conducted with moderation; but the victories obtained by his general

ral in Lower Saxony encouraged him to lay aside all reserve. It was now intimated to the Protestants in his hereditary dominions, that they must either abandon their religion or their native country; a bitter and dreadful alternative, which caused the most violent commotions among the vassals of Austria. After the expulsion of Frederic, the reformed religion was suppressed in the Palatinate, and its professors expelled the university of Heidelberg.

These innovations were a prelude to one still greater; in the college of Electors, held at Mulhausen, the Catholics had required from the Emperor the restitution of all the bishoprics and archbishoprics, abbacies and priories, which the Protestants had taken possession of since the treaty of Augsbург, in order to indemnify the former for the losses they had sustained since the commencement of the war. Such a hint could not be overlooked by so zealous a Catholic prince as Ferdinand, but it was as yet deemed too soon to raise all the Protestants in Germany in commotion by such a step; there was no Protestant prince whose territories were not concerned in this restitution of the Catholic chapters; where the revenues of the latter were
not

not converted to temporal purposes, they were applied to the use of the Protestant church; and several princes owed to them the greater part of their revenues and power. All of them, without exception, must be alarmed at the recalling of the chapters. Though the religious treaty had left the matter doubtful, it had not expressly deprived them of those chapters; but the long possession of more than a century, the silence of former Emperors, the rules of moderation, which gave them an equal share with the Catholics in the endowments of their ancestors, would be adduced by them as a rational claim. Besides the immediate blow which the restoration of those chapters gave their power and authority, and the unforeseen confusion which would follow, it was of no small disadvantage to them that such bishoprics, restored to the Catholic party, would augment it by so many votes in the diet. So sensible a loss on the part of the Protestants gave the Emperor to apprehend the most violent resistance; and before the flames of war were extinguished in Germany, he did not desire to rouse a party, formidable by its union, which had a powerful support in the Elector of Saxony. He at first resolved to try the experiment upon a small scale, to discover in what manner it would succeed

succeed on a greater. Some free cities in Upper Germany, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, received orders to restore several such alienated chapters.

Circumstances in Saxony enabled the Emperor to make bolder experiments. In the bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt the canons had not thought proper to elect bishops of their own religion; both bishoprics were now overrun by Wallenstein's troops, except the town of Magdeburg. It happened by accident that Halberstadt was vacant by the death of Duke Christian of Brunswic, its administrator, and Magdeburg by the deposition of Christian William, a prince of the House of Brandenburg: Ferdinand took advantage of this circumstance to place a Catholic bishop on the see of Halberstadt, and, besides, a prince of his own house. To avoid similar coercion, the chapter of Magdeburg hastened to elect a son of the Elector of Saxony for their archbishop; but the Pope, who assumed the authority of interfering in this matter, appointed the Austrian prince to the archbishopric of Magdeburg also; and men could not but admire the address of Ferdinand, who amid the most pious zeal
for

for his religion did not forget the interests of his family.

At length, after the peace of Lubec had delivered the Empire from all apprehensions on the side of Denmark, and had appeared totally to lower the Protestant interest in Germany, the demands of the League becoming louder and more pressing, Ferdinand, in 1629, signed the edict of restitution, so famous for its disastrous consequences, after he had previously laid it before the four Catholic Electors for their approbation. In the preface he assumed to himself the power, by virtue of his Imperial authority, of expounding all those articles of the religious treaty whose obscurity had already caused so many errors, and of becoming supreme arbitrator and judge between the contending parties. This prerogative was grounded upon the practice of his ancestors, and the former consent even of the Protestant states: Saxony had actually yielded it to the Emperor; but it now appeared how destructive the attachment of that House to Austria was to the Protestant cause. But if the letter of the treaty was exposed to double interpretation, as was sufficiently apparent from the dispute of a century, the Emperor could

could not with propriety be umpire between the Catholic and Protestant states; for being necessarily himself either a Catholic or a Protestant, he must favour one of the parties. It was also contrary to an essential article of the treaty; he could not be judge in his own cause without reducing the freedom of the Germans to an empty sound.

Ferdinand, now using his authority to interpret the treaty, gave the following decision: "That every confiscation of chapters made by the Protestants after the signature of it, was contrary to its spirit, and should be recalled as a breach of it." He further decided, "that Catholic proprietors of estates were no further bound to their Protestant subjects, than to grant them the liberty of departure." According to this decision, all unlawful possessors of ecclesiastical chapters, consequently all the Protestants without exception, were ordered forthwith to surrender what were called their usurped possessions to the Imperial commissaries, under pain of being put to the bann of the Empire.

No less than two archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics stood on this list; besides, there were
abbacies

abbacies innumerable which had been seized by the Protestants. This edict was a thunder-broke to all the Protestants in Germany; dreadful by its immediate consequences, and still more so from the more distant ones to which it appeared only a prelude. The German Protestants now plainly saw their ruin determined on by the Emperor and the Catholics, and doubted not that the ruin of German liberty would soon follow. A remonstrance was foreseen on the part of the Emperor. Commissioners were nominated, and an army assembled to enforce obedience. The edict was first enforced at Augsbourg, where the treaty was concluded; that city must return to its obedience, under a bishop; and six Protestant churches were shut up in it. In the same manner the Duke of Wirtemberg must surrender his abbeys. This severity alarmed all the Protestant states, but without exciting them to an effective resistance; their fear of the Emperor was too powerful, and a great number of them began already to submit. The hopes of obtaining their desires in a peaceful manner prevailed upon the Catholics to delay the full execution of the edict for a year; and this saved the Protestants. Before the end of that period the fortune of the Swedish arms changed the face of affairs.

In

In an assembly of Electors held at Ratisbon in 1630, at which Ferdinand assisted in person, it was intended to re-establish the general peace of Germany, and to redress all grievances. There were not fewer on the side of the Catholics than on that of the Protestants; however, Ferdinand had persuaded himself, as member of the League by the edict of restitution, and as its leader by the gift of the electoral dignity, and the evacuation of the greater part of the Palatinate, that he had obtained the attachment of the Catholics.

Since Wallenstein's appearance on the political theatre, the good understanding between the Emperor and the princes of the League had considerably diminished. Accustomed to give law to Germany, and even to command the Empire, the proud Elector of Bavaria now saw himself suddenly supplanted by the Imperial general, and his power, with that of the League, totally annihilated. Another now arose to reap the fruit of his labours, and to bury his past services in oblivion. The haughty character of Wallenstein, whose most agreeable triumph consisted in treating with disrespect that prince's authority, and even to give that of his sovereign an odious latitude, not a little

contributed to augment the Elector's sensibility. Discontented with the Emperor, and distrustful of his intentions, he had entered into a treaty with France, which served to render him suspected by the other princes of the League. The fear of the Emperor's plan of self aggrandizement, and dissatisfaction at present evils, had extinguished all gratitude among them. Wallenstein's exactions were now become intolerable. Brandenburg calculated its losses at twenty, Pomerania at ten, Hesse Cassel at seven millions of dollars, and the rest in proportion. The demand for redress was loud and universal, but remonstrances were useless. No difference was made between Catholics and Protestants, and all were united in this particular. The Emperor received innumerable petitions against Wallenstein, and his ears were assailed by the most lively descriptions of his violences. Ferdinand was not naturally cruel; if not totally innocent of the atrocities which were practised in Germany by his authority, he was unacquainted with their extent, and he did not hesitate at the request of the princes to disband eighteen thousand cavalry from his army. It was while this reform took place that the Swedes were preparing to enter Germany, and

the greater part of the disbanded Imperial soldiers entered that service.

This condescension of Ferdinand only encouraged the Elector of Bavaria to bolder demands. The triumph over the Emperor was imperfect, while Wallenstein was commander in chief. The princes must now take revenge of the haughtiness of the general, which they had all felt without distinction. The dismissal of this man was demanded by the whole College of Electors, and even by Spain, with an unanimity which astonished the Emperor: but the eagerness with which those who were jealous of the Emperor sought Wallenstein's ruin, must have convinced the former of the importance of his general. Wallenstein, informed of the cabals against him in Ratisbon, did not neglect to expose to the Emperor the designs of the Elector of Bavaria: he himself appeared in Ratisbon, but with a pomp which exceeded that of his master, and increased the jealousy of his opponent.

The Emperor long wavered before he came to a decision. The sacrifice required of him was painful; he was indebted to Wallenstein for his entire superiority; he felt how much he
lost

lost when he delivered him up to the indignation of the princes. But, unfortunately, he wanted the good will of the Electors, now become necessary to the appointing his son Ferdinand, already elected King of Hungary, as his heir in the Empire, to which the consent of Maximilian was indispensable. This duty he thought the most important, and he scrupled not to sacrifice his most valuable subject to gain the Elector of Bavaria.

Ambassadors from France appeared at this diet of Electors at Ratisbon, with power to prevent a war, which threatened to break out in Italy, between the Emperor and their master. Vincent Duke of Mantua and Montferrat had died without children; his next relation, Charles Duke of Nevers, had taken possession of this inheritance without doing homage to Ferdinand, as liege lord and Emperor. Encouraged by the support of France and Venice, he persisted in his refusal of yielding up those countries to the Imperial commissaries, until his right should be decided. Ferdinand, inflamed by the Spaniards, to whom, as proprietors of Milan, the neighbourhood of a French vassal was highly alarming, and to whom every opportunity was pleasing of making conquests,

by the assistance of Austria, in this part of Italy, took up arms. Notwithstanding the interposition of Pope Urban VIII. who anxiously wished to prevent a war in that country, he marched an army of Germans across the Alps, whose unexpected appearance threw the Italian states into consternation. His arms were already successful in Germany, and exaggerated fears saw Austria's old claims to universal monarchy renewed. All the horrors of war were now spread over the consecrated fields through which the Po flows. Mantua was taken by storm, and the surrounding country felt the ravages of an unlicensed soldiery. To the detestation in which the Emperor was held by all Germany, that of Italy was now added, and even in the conclave itself silent prayers were offered to Heaven for the success of the Swedish arms.

Alarmed by the universal hatred which the Italian campaign drew upon them, and weary of the opposition he had met with from the Electors, who zealously promoted the designs of the French minister, the Emperor listened to the proposals of France, and promised the new Duke the investiture.

This

This important service on the part of Bavaria required an equivalent from France. The conclusion of the treaty afforded Richelieu's minister the desired opportunity of troubling the Empire, during his residence at Ratibon, with the most dangerous intrigues, of inflaming the discontented princes of the League still more against him, and turning all the negotiations of the College of Electors to his disadvantage. For this purpose Richelieu had chosen, in the person of Father Joseph, the Capucin friar who accompanied the ambassador unsuspected, an excellent instrument. His first instructions were zealously to promote the dismissal of Wallenstein. With the general who led them to victory, Austria's armies lost a great part of their strength. Armies could not supply the place of this one man: it was therefore a master-stroke of politics, at the moment when a victorious king, absolute master of his operations, advanced against the Emperor, to take the only general who could be compared to him in experience and reputation from the head of the Imperial forces. Father Joseph undertook to overcome the Emperor's irresolution, who was in a manner besieged by the Spaniards and the Electors. "It would be expedient," he thought, "to gratify the Electors upon this occasion, in

“ order the sooner to obtain the dignity of
 “ King of the Romans. Were this difficulty
 “ once surmounted, Wallenstein could at any
 “ time be found to resume his former station.”
 The artful Capucin was too sure of his man to
 make any addition to this consolation.

Ferdinand heard the voice of a monk as he
 would that of Heaven. “ *Nothing on earth,*”
 writes his own confessor, “ *was more sacred in*
 “ *his eyes than the priesthood.*”—“ *Did it happen,*
 was he oft heard to say, “ *that an angel from*
 “ *heaven and a clergyman were to meet him at*
 “ *the same time and place, the clergyman should*
 “ *receive his first, and the angel the second act of*
 “ *his obeisance.*” Wallenstein’s dismissal was
 determined upon.

In return for this pious condescension, the
 Capucin negotiated at Ratisbon with such dex-
 terity against him, that his design of procuring
 the King of Hungary the title of that of the
 Romans entirely failed. In an article of the
 late treaty, the French minister had declared
 expressly, in the name of his master, that
 France would maintain the most perfect neu-
 trality towards the Emperor’s enemies, at the
 very time that Richelieu was secretly negotiat-
 ing

ing with Sweden, encouraging him to undertake a war, and pressing him to accept the alliance of his master. He even disclaimed this falsehood so soon as it had the desired effect; and Father Joseph was confined to a convent for having exceeded his instructions. Ferdinand, too late, was aware of his deceit: "A wicked Capucin," he was heard to say, "has disarmed me by his rosary, and enclosed no less than six Electors in his cowl."

Thus did art and knavery triumph over the Emperor at the period when he was thought master of Germany, and actually was such by his arms. With the loss of 18,000 men, and a general who alone was worth an army, he left Ratisbon, without having accomplished the desire for which he made all these sacrifices. Before the Swedes had vanquished him in the field, Maximilian of Bavaria and Father Joseph had inflicted a mortal wound. It was at this memorable diet that the war commenced with Sweden, while that of Mantua was terminated. The princes on this occasion interfered in vain on behalf of the Dukes of Mecklenburg, and with as little effect did an English envoy beg for a pension for the unfortunate Elector Palatine.

Wallenstein commanded an army of near one hundred thousand men, by whom he was adored, when the news of his dismissal was communicated to him. The greater part of the officers were his creatures, and a hint from him decided the fate of the common soldiers; his ambition was boundless, his pride insupportable, and his imperious spirit could not brook an injury; one moment was now to precipitate him from the height of power to the condition of a private man. To execute a similar sentence upon such a criminal, appeared to require an act no less than that by which it had been obtained; but precautions had been taken to select two of Wallenstein's most intimate friends, as the heralds of these bad tidings, who softened them as much as possible by the assurance of the continuation of the Emperor's favour.

Wallenstein was already acquainted with the nature of their errand, when the Emperor's messengers made their appearance; he had time to collect himself, and his countenance showed calmness while his breast was torn by contending passions. But he had predetermined to yield implicit obedience. This resolution of the Emperor surprised him before circumstances were prepared for a bold step, and
his

his preparations in a state of sufficient forwardness. His great estates were scattered over Bohemia and Moravia: by their confiscation the Emperor would destroy the nerves of his power. From time he expected satisfaction, and in this hope he was encouraged by the prophecies of an Italian astrologer, who led this otherwise intrepid spirit like a child. Seni had read in the stars that the career of his master was not yet ended, and that the sequel had prepared for him a brilliant fortune. It was indeed unnecessary to consult the stars in order to make it probable that an enemy such as Gustavus Adolphus would make the services of such a general as Wallenstein indispensable.

“The Emperor is betrayed,” said Wallenstein to the messengers: “I pity, but forgive him: it is evident that Bavaria dominates; I am sorry that he has so easily sacrificed me, but I will obey.” The emissaries were dismissed with rich presents, and he besought the Emperor’s further favour and protection in an humble letter. The murmurs of his army were universal upon hearing the dismissal of their general, and the greater part of his officers immediately quitted the Imperial service; several

ral followed him to his estates in Bohemia and Moravia; others he attached by pensions, in order to command their services whenever opportunity offered.

His intentions were by no means fixed on repose while he returned to a private station. In his solitude he was surrounded by a regal pomp which appeared to reproach his degradation; six gates led to his palace in Prague, and a hundred houses were demolished in order to clear the surrounding space. Similar palaces were built upon his numerous estates; gentlemen of the first families sought the honour of seeing him, and Imperial chamberlains were known to deliver up the golden key in order to exercise that duty under Wallenstein; he maintained sixty pages, who were instructed by the most able masters; his antechamber was protected by fifty life-guards; his table never consisted of less than a hundred covers, and his house-steward was a person of distinction; when he travelled, his suite and baggage were carried upon a hundred waggons, drawn by six and four horses; his court followed him in sixty coaches, attended by fifty led horses; the magnificence of his liveries, the splendour of his equipage, and the decorations of his apartments

ments were in proportion; six barons and as many knights continually attended his person; twelve patrols went their rounds in his palace to prevent any disturbance; his busy genius required silence; the noise of coaches was not permitted near his residence, and the streets leading to it were often shut up with chains. His deportment was no less impenetrable than his access; dark, reserved, and profound, he was more sparing of his words than his gifts, and the little that he spoke was uttered in unamiable accents; he never smiled, and the coldness of his temperature withstood all sensual gratifications. Ever occupied by the most extensive schemes of ambition, he rejected those idle dissipations in which others spend the best part of their time; a correspondence throughout Europe he managed himself, and the greater part of his letters were written by his own pen. He was a man of large stature, thin, of a yellow complexion, with red short hair, and small but penetrating eyes; his countenance displayed a forbidding seriousness, and the magnificence of his presents could alone retain the trembling crowd of his servants.

It was in this stately darkness that Wallenstein awaited, not inactively, the return of his good fortune,

fortune, and the hour of his revenge; the brilliant successes of Gustavus Adolphus soon gave him reason to expect its approach. He had abandoned none of his vast plans; the Emperor's ingratitude had absolved him from a burdensome duty; the splendour of his life, as a private man, betrayed the extent of his ambition; and bountiful even as a monarch, he seemed to regard as his own, the possessions which his hopes assigned him.

A new generalissimo must be appointed after Wallenstein's dismissal, and Gustavus Adolphus's invasion; and it appeared necessary immediately to entrust the Imperial and League armies to one chief.

Maximilian of Bavaria made efforts to obtain this important dignity, which would render him master of the Emperor; but this consideration induced the latter to prefer to that station his eldest son, the King of Hungary. At length, however, to avoid giving offence to either of the competitors, the command was given to the general of the League, Tilly, who now exchanged the Bavarian for the Austrian service. The army which Ferdinand still possessed in Germany, after the retreat of Wallenstein's

stein's troops, amounted to about 40,000 men; the forces of the League were not much less numerous; both commanded by excellent officers, possessing the experience of several campaigns, and proud of a long series of victories. With this force it was thought the King of Sweden's invasion was the less alarming, as Mecklenburg and Pomerania, the only two countries through which he could enter, were already in the hands of his enemies.

After the King of Denmark's unfortunate attempt to check the Emperor's progress, Gustavus Adolphus was the only prince in Europe from whom oppressed liberty could hope for aid; the only one whom the strongest political motives excited to an undertaking, in which he was also justified by the injuries he had received, and for which he was admirably fitted by his personal qualities. From important political grounds, which he possessed in common with Denmark, he had already, previous to the commencement of the war in Lower Saxony, made an offer of his army and person to defend Germany; but unfortunately for the Danish monarch, his offer was rejected. Since that period, the superiority of Wallenstein, and the despotic pride of the Emperor, encouraged both
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to make demands which must have personally offended him as a sovereign prince. Austrian troops were detached to the assistance of the Polish king Sigismund, in order to defend Prussia against the Swedes. When the king complained of this act of hostility to Wallenstein, he received for answer from the latter, "The Emperor has a superfluity of troops, and must assist his allies with them." At the Danish congress at Lubec, Wallenstein had insulted the Swedish ambassadors; and when they had the courage to remain unawed by his treatment, he threatened them with an usage which violated the law of nations. Ferdinand also insulted the Swedish flag, and had the king's dispatches conveyed to Transilvania; he persisted in throwing in obstacles to prevent the peace between Sweden and Poland, to support Sigismund's claim to the Swedish throne, and to refuse Gustavus Adolphus the title of king; he deigned not to pay the slightest attention to the repeated remonstrances of Gustavus, and, instead of atoning for past, he aggravated them by new injuries.

So many personal insults, supported by the most important state and religious considerations, and seconded by pressing invitations from

from Germany, must naturally make a forcible impression upon a prince who was the more jealous of his royal prerogative, in proportion as the title of king was denied him; who found himself infinitely flattered by the prospect of relieving the oppressed, and who passionately loved war as the native element of his genius. But previous to his engaging in a new and dangerous contest, it was absolutely necessary to conclude either a peace, or cessation of hostilities with Poland.

Cardinal Richelieu had the merit of procuring this truce between Sweden and Poland. That great statesman, with the helm of Europe in one hand, while with the other he repressed the fury of interior factions, and the influence of the great in France, obstinately persevered, amid the cares of a boisterous administration, to check the growing power of the House of Austria. But the circumstances in which he was placed opposed such obstacles to his plan as were sufficient to deter the greatest minds from its prosecution, particularly as it stood in opposition to the prejudices of the age. Minister of a Catholic king, and Cardinal of the Romish church, the purple he bore did not yet permit him, in conjunction with the enemies

mies of his religion, openly to wage war with a power whose ambition was cloaked by the specious appearance of an attachment to the Catholic faith. The respect which Richelieu was obliged to maintain for the confined ideas of his cotemporaries, checked his political undertakings, and obliged him privately to pursue the plan of his enlightened genius by means of foreign assistance. After having in vain endeavoured to prevent the peace between the Emperor and the King of Denmark, he had recourse to Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of his age. Nothing was omitted to hasten the king's resolution, and to afford him the means of executing it. Charnasse, a faithful emissary of Richelieu, went to Polish Prussia, where Gustavus Adolphus carried on a war with Sigismund, and alternately visited both princes in order to procure a peace between them. Gustavus was long prepared for this event, and the French envoy at length succeeded in opening the eyes of Sigismund to his true interests, and the faithless politics of Austria. A truce was concluded for six years, by which Gustavus remained in possession of his conquests, and finally obtained the opportunity so long desired, of turning his arms against the Emperor. Towards this enterprize, the French
envoy

envoy offered him his master's alliance, and considerable subsidies; but Gustavus entertained apprehensions that the acceptance of the latter would place him in a state of dependance upon France, which might shackle him in the progress of his success, and also that his alliance with a Catholic power would excite the jealousy of the Protestants.

Notwithstanding both the justice and the necessity of this war, the appearances under which Gustavus Adolphus undertook it were highly unfavourable; the very name of Emperor was formidable, his resources were inexhaustible, and his armies hitherto invincible. Any other spirit but that of Gustavus would have been dismayed by so dangerous a conflict: he calmly weighed the obstacles and dangers which opposed his undertaking, and found the means to surmount them. His army, though not numerous, was well disciplined, hardened in a severe climate, and, by continual campaigns, formed for victory in the war with Poland. Sweden, deficient in money and population, and reduced by an eight years war, was devoted to its king with an enthusiasm which promised the effectual support of every order in the state. In Germany the Emperor

was odious as he was formidable. The Protestant princes only awaited the arrival of a deliverer, to throw off the insupportable yoke of tyranny under which they laboured, and openly declare for the Swedes; even the Catholic powers could not behold with displeasure the arrival of an antagonist who promised to check the overgrown power of the Emperor. The first victory gained upon the German territory must naturally decide the cause of Sweden, by bringing the princes who had hitherto stood neuter, to declare themselves, strengthen the courage of its adherents, increase the number of its troops, and open rich resources for the continuance of the war. If the greater part of the German states had hitherto been sufferers from oppression, the Hanse towns still remained in a prosperous condition, and were by no means disposed to sacrifice themselves; in proportion as the Austrians were expelled from the countries of which they had possessed themselves, their means of subsistence were diminished; ill-timed detachments of troops to Italy and the Netherlands had already weakened the Emperor's power. Spain, exhausted by the loss of its Manilla fleet, and a bloody war in the Netherlands, could promise him little support. Great Britain, on the contrary, gave
Gustavus

Gustavus Adolphus the hope of considerable subsidies; and France, which had quelled its domestic troubles, made the most advantageous offers in support of his undertaking.

But the strongest pledge for the happy issue of his enterprise, Gustavus found in himself; prudence, however, required him to obtain all foreign aid, thereby to secure his undertaking from the imputation of rashness. But this foresight and resolution were entirely derived from his own mind. He was indisputably the greatest general of his age, and the bravest soldier in an army formed by himself; fully acquainted with the tactics of ancient Greece and Rome, he had made improvements upon the art of war which have been adopted by the greatest generals after his time; he diminished the unwieldy squadrons of cavalry, in order to render the movements of that part of the army more light and active; for that purpose he formed his battalions of infantry at great intervals. His army he composed of two lines, instead of one, that the second might advance to support the first, in case the latter was thrown into disorder. The want of cavalry he supplied by placing musketeers among his horse, and this often decided the victory. Europe first

learned from him the great importance of infantry in the day of battle. Germany was astonished at the strictness of the Swedish discipline; all disorders were punished with the utmost severity, more particularly impiety, theft, gaming, and duelling. The Swedish articles of war enforced frugality, and the camp, even the King's tent, displayed neither gold nor silver plate; the general's attention was as much directed to the soldier's morals as to his martial bravery; each morning and evening every regiment formed a circle round its chaplain for prayers. In every thing the King set the example. The courage of his magnanimous soul was still further augmented by an ardent piety; equally free from the coarse infidelity of the northern barbarians, and the miserable superstition of Ferdinand, which degraded him in the eyes of the Supreme Being, Gustavus remained still, in the height of his good fortune, the man and the christian, but amid all his devotion, the king and the hero. The hardships of war he bore like the meanest soldier in his army, maintained the utmost serenity of mind amid the fury of combat, and, with an extraordinary intrepidity, forgot the surrounding danger while he exposed himself to every peril. His native vivacity but too often

often forgot the duty of a general, and the life of the King ended in the death of a common soldier. But such a leader was equally followed by the backward and the brave, while his rapid glance carefully observed every deed of valour which his example excited. His renown roused among the people an enthusiastic sense of their own importance: proud of such a king, the peasant of Finland and Gothland gave his pittance with pleasure, the soldier willingly shed his blood, and the extraordinary influence which this one man had upon the nation survived him during a long period.

Though no doubt was entertained of the necessity of the war, considerable difficulties arose as to the manner of waging it. An offensive war appeared too dangerous to the magnanimous Chancellor Oxentern, as the scanty treasures of the King bore no competition with the inexhaustible resources of a despot, who held the entire German empire in subjection. The timid scruples of the minister were, however, overruled by the deeper penetration of the hero. "If we await the enemy in Sweden," said Gustavus, "all is lost by a defeat; every thing, on the contrary, is gained by a fortunate commencement in Germany.

“ The sea is wide, and we have extensive
“ coasts to guard; should the enemy’s fleet
“ escape us, or our own be defeated, it would
“ in either case be impossible to prevent a
“ landing. Every thing depends upon the
“ preservation of Stralsund; so long as that
“ harbour is open to us, we shall both main-
“ tain our influence in the Baltic, and secure
“ a retreat from Germany. In order to pre-
“ serve this port, however, we must not re-
“ main in Sweden, but pass with an army into
“ Pomerania. Let me then hear no more of
“ a defensive plan of operations, by which we
“ sacrifice our greatest advantages. A hostile
“ standard upon its territories is not a pleasing
“ prospect for Sweden; and when vanquished
“ in Germany it will be time enough to fol-
“ low your plan.”

It was thus resolved to cross the Baltic and attack the Emperor; preparations were made with the utmost expedition, and the measures embraced by Gustavus in forwarding this plan, displayed no less foresight than its execution did valour. Previous to engaging in so extensive a war, it was necessary to secure Sweden against the attempts of its neighbours. Gustavus secured the Danish king’s alliance by an interview

interview with him at Markaroed ; he strengthened his frontier towards Muscovy ; and Poland might be held in check in Germany if it betrayed any design of infringing the truce. Falkenberg, a Swedish emissary who went through Germany and Holland, obtained the most flattering promises from several princes, though none of them as yet possessed resolution sufficient to form an open treaty with Sweden. Lubec and Hamburg consented to advance money, and accept Swedish copper in return ; trusty messengers were even sent to the Prince of Transylvania, in order to rouse that implacable enemy of Austria to hostility.

Meanwhile Swedish levies were made in Germany and the Netherlands ; the regiments were completed ; new ones raised ; transports were obtained ; the fleet was fitted out ; provisions, military stores, and money, were collected in the greatest possible quantities ; thirty ships of war were in a short time prepared for launching ; an army of 15,000 men was assembled, and two hundred transports were prepared to waft them across the Baltic. Gustavus Adolphus was desirous of introducing no greater force into Germany, and even the maintenance of this small army had hitherto exceeded the

revenues of his kingdom. But small as this force was, it was chosen in point of discipline, valour, and experience, and laid the foundation of a more numerous army, provided its first attempts were attended with success. Oxenstern, both chancellor and general, was at the head of 10,000 men in Poland; some regular troops, and a considerable body of militia, which served the army as a nursery, remained in Sweden, to preserve that kingdom against any sudden invasion.

By these means the safety of Sweden was secured. Gustavus Adolphus bestowed equal care upon its interior administration. The government was entrusted to the council of state, and the finances to John Cassimir, Count Palatine, Gustavus's brother-in-law; while the Queen, notwithstanding the tender affection which he bore her, was excluded by reason of her confined talents from every share in the administration. He quitted his palace with the presentiment of seeing it no more. On the 20th of May 1630, the King appeared in the general Assembly of States at Stockholm, to bid them a solemn farewell. Here he took in his arms his daughter Christina, then four years old, she having been previously acknowledged

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as his successor, presented her to the states as their future sovereign, and exacted from them an oath of allegiance to her in case of his returning no more ; he also read the regulations to be observed in the government, either during his absence or the minority of his daughter. At this moving scene the Assembly dissolved into tears ; and the King was himself so much overcome, that it was some time before he could pronounce the discourse he had prepared for the occasion, and which he at length delivered to the following purpose :

“ It is not without just cause, Gentlemen,
“ that I embark myself and you in the present
“ war : God is my witness that I do not en-
“ gage in this contest purely from my own
“ inclinations. The Emperor of Germany
“ has already inhumanly insulted me in the
“ person of my ambassador ; he has supported
“ my enemies, persecuted my friends, op-
“ pressed my religion, and even made attempts
“ upon my crown. The oppressed states of
“ Germany call aloud for that vengeance
“ which, under the influence of Divine aid,
“ we are determined to procure them.

“ I am

“ I am fully sensible of the dangers to which
“ my life will be exposed. I have never yet
“ shrunk from danger, and I cannot avoid my
“ fate; hitherto has Providence guarded me
“ in a wonderful manner, but still I am def-
“ tined to fall in defence of my country. Be
“ just, be conscientious, act fairly, and we shall
“ again meet in eternity.

“ To you, my counsellors of state, I first
“ turn myself. May God enlighten your un-
“ derstandings, and enable you to govern my
“ people with wisdom.

“ You, intrepid nobility, I commend to
“ Divine protection. Continue to show your-
“ selves the descendants of those Gothic heroes
“ who laid the Roman eagles in the dust.

“ To you, the ministers of religion, I re-
“ commend patience and moderation. Be
“ an example of those virtues which you
“ preach, and never abuse the influence which
“ you have acquired over the minds of my
“ people.

“ Deputies of the burgeses and the pea-
“ santry, I wish you the Divine blessing. May
“ your

“ your industry be crowned by a prosperous
“ harvest; and may you enjoy in abundance
“ all the goods of this life.

“ For the prosperity of all my subjects, both
“ absent and present, I offer to the Supreme
“ Being my most fervent prayers. I bid you
“ all my most sincere farewell; and bid it,
“ perhaps, for the last time.”

The embarkation of the troops took place at Elfsnaben, where the fleet lay at anchor. An innumerable crowd of spectators flocked from all sides to behold this grand spectacle. The hearts of the spectators were moved by various sensations, whether they considered the extent of the preparations, or the greatness of the leader. Among the superior officers who commanded in this army were, Gustavus Horn, Otto Lewis, Count Palatine, Henry Matthias, Count Thurn, Ortenburg, Bannier, Teufel, Tott, Mutsenfahl, Falkenburg, Knyphausen, and several others who had acquired a brilliant reputation. Detained by contrary winds, the fleet was unable to sail until June, and arrived the 24th of that month at the island of Ruden, on the coast of Pomerania.

Gustavus

Gustavus Adolphus was the first who leaped on shore. In the presence of his suite he fell upon his knees to return thanks to the Almighty for the safe arrival of his fleet and army*. He landed his troops upon the islands of Wollen and Usedom: the Austrians, upon his approach, immediately quitted their entrenchments, and fled. Conquest attended his entrance into Germany. With the utmost rapidity he appeared before Stettin, to make himself master of that important place before the Imperialists took possession of it. Bogislaus XIV. Duke of Pomerania, a weak superannuated prince, was long tired of the oppressions which the Imperialists had exercised, and still continued to exercise in his territories: but, too weak to resist, he had contented himself with murmurs. The appearance of his deliverer, instead of exciting his hopes, only increased his fears and irresolution. Though his country still bled fresh from the wounds which the Imperialists inflicted, he could not be prevailed upon to join the Swedes. Gustavus Adolphus encamped under the walls of Stettin, and summoned that town to receive a Swedish garrison. Bogislaus

* The King's piety was not very consistent with the designs which he afterwards formed against the liberties of Germany. *Transf.*

appeared

appeared in person in the Swedish camp to excuse his not complying with this request. "I come as your friend, not as your enemy," answered Gustavus. "I do not wage war against you or the German Empire, only against the enemies of both. In my hands shall this dutchy be sacred, and it shall be restored to you at the conclusion of the campaign with much more certainty than it would by any other. Look to the footsteps of the Imperial troops in your dominions, regard those of mine in Usedom, and determine whether you will have the Emperor or me as your friend. What do you expect, should Ferdinand make himself master of your capital? Will he display more clemency than I? Is it your intention to stop my progress? Affairs are pressing, take your measures, and do not oblige me to have recourse to violent means."

The alternative was painful to the Duke of Pomerania. On one hand, the King of Sweden was before his gates with a formidable army; on the other, he saw the terrible vengeance of the Emperor, and the melancholy prospect of so many German princes who fell a sacrifice to it, and now wandered through the world,

world, stripped of their possessions, and in misery. The more immediate danger decided his resolution. The gates of Stettin were opened to the King. Swedish troops entered, and the advantage was gained over the Austrians, who advanced towards it by rapid marches. The possession of this place procured the King a firm footing in Pomerania, the navigation of the Oder, and a magazine for his army. Bogislaus did not scruple to excuse this measure before the Emperor on the plea of necessity, and expose himself, on the commencement, to the reproach of treachery: but aware of the implacable disposition of this monarch, he formed a close alliance with his new protector, in order, by the friendship of the Swedes, to shelter himself from Austria's vengeance. The King acquired, by this alliance with Pomerania, an important friend in Germany, who might cover his retreat, and keep open the communication with Sweden.

Gustavus Adolphus thought himself absolved from the usual formalities towards Ferdinand, who had been the aggressor in Prussia, and commenced hostilities without a declaration of war. He justified his conduct before all Europe in a manifesto, in which he explained the

grounds of his taking up arms. Meanwhile he continued his progress in Pomerania, and daily saw his army increase. The troops which he had fought under Mansfeld, the Duke of Brunswic, and Wallenstein, came, both officers and soldiers, in crowds to join his victorious standards.

The invasion of the King of Sweden excited by no means, at the Imperial court, the attention which it merited. Austria's pride, elevated to its utmost height by its hitherto unheard-of success, regarded with contempt a prince who, with a handful of men, came from an obscure corner of Europe, and whom they supposed to owe the military reputation he had already acquired to having been opposed to a still more contemptible enemy than himself. The humiliating representation which Wallenstein had artfully given of the Swedish power contributed to increase the Emperor's security. For what respect could he have for an enemy whom his general undertook to drive so easily out of Germany? Even the victorious progress of Gustavus Adolphus in Pomerania could not extinguish the prejudices which the ridicule of flatterers had thrown upon him. He was called in Vienna the *snow king*, who was congealed in

in the North, but would infallibly melt on his approach to the southward. Even Electors who were assembled in Ratisbon paid no attention to his manifesto, and from abject complaisance towards Ferdinand refused him the title of king. But while they amused themselves, in Vienna and Ratisbon, with turning him into ridicule, he made himself master of several strong places in Mecklenburg and Pomerania.

However, notwithstanding this contemptuous behaviour, the Emperor thought it proper to offer to terminate the quarrel with Sweden by negotiation, and actually sent plenipotentiaries to Dantzic for that purpose. But their instructions plainly showed his insincerity by still continuing to refuse Gustavus the title of King. His design was to remove the odium of being the aggressor to the King of Sweden, and thereby to claim the support of the states of the Empire. The congress at Dantzic ended fruitlessly, as might have been foreseen, and the animosity of both parties was increased to its utmost pitch by a passionate correspondence.

An Imperial general, Torquato Ponti, who commanded the army in Pomerania, had in vain

vain endeavoured to wrest Stettin from the Swedes. The Imperialists were driven from one place to another: Damm, Stargard, Cammin, and Wolgast, soon fell into the King's hands. To revenge himself upon the Duke of Pomerania, the Imperial general, on the retreat of his troops, permitted them to exercise every species of barbarity upon the unfortunate inhabitants, who had already but too much suffered from his avarice. Under the pretext of depriving the Swedes of subsistence, the whole country was laid waste and plundered; and it often happened that when the Imperialists could no longer maintain a town, it was laid in ashes, in order to leave the enemy nothing but ruins. But these barbarities served no other purpose than to set the opposite behaviour of the Swedes in a more brilliant light, and to obtain the humane King the attachment of all mankind. The Swedish soldier regularly paid for every thing, and no private property was molested on his march. In consequence of this, they were received, both in town and country, with open arms: all the Imperial soldiers who fell into the hands of the Pomeranian peasantry were massacred without compassion. A number of Pomeranians entered the Swedish ser-

vice; and the states of this exhausted country willingly voted the King a contribution of a hundred thousand florins.

Torquato Conti, who, notwithstanding the severity of his character, was a consummate general, endeavoured to make the possession of Stettin useless to the King of Sweden, though he could not expel him from it. He intrenched himself at Garz, above Stettin, on the Oder, to cut off the communication of the town with Germany. Nothing could prevail upon him to give battle to the King, who was superior in strength: the latter was equally cautious in not storming the intrenchments of the Imperialists. Torquato, wanting both men and money, intended by this plan of operations to gain time for Tilly to hasten to the assistance of Pomerania, and then, in conjunction with that general, to advance upon the Swedes. He took advantage of the King's absence to make an attempt to surprise Stettin; but the Swedes were prepared for him. A spirited attack of the Imperialists was firmly sustained, and Torquato retired with great loss. It is not to be denied, that Gustavus Adolphus owed this successful commencement of the war as much to fortune as to

to his military talents. The Imperial troops in Pomerania were greatly reduced since Wallenstein's dismissal. Their ravages were now severely retorted upon them : an exhausted desolated country could no longer afford the means of subsistence ; discipline was lost, and the troops ceased to respect the orders of their officers. Their numbers visibly diminished, both by great desertions and a mortality which the severe colds had brought among them in a strange climate. Under these circumstances the Imperial general was desirous of allowing his troops the repose of winter quarters. But he had to oppose him an enemy who felt no winter in the climate of Germany. The Imperial plenipotentiaries who came to treat for a cessation of hostilities received the following discouraging answer : " The Swedes
" are soldiers in winter as well as in summer,
" and not disposed to oppress the poor inhabitants. The Imperialists may act as they
" think proper, but they must not expect to
" remain quiet." Shortly after Torquato Conti resigned a command which offered neither riches nor reputation.

From this unequal state of both armies, the advantage must naturally have been on the

Swedish side. The Imperialists were perpetually harassed in their winter quarters; Greifenhagen, an important place upon the Oder, was taken by storm, and the towns of Gartz and Piritz were at length abandoned by the enemy. Of all Pomerania, Griefswald, Demmin, and Colburg alone, remained in their hands, and the King made the necessary preparations to besiege these places. The flying enemy directed his course towards the March of Brandenburg, not without sustaining great loss in artillery, baggage, and men, which fell into the hands of their pursuers.

By seizing the passes at Ribnitz and Damgarten, Gustavus Adolphus had opened himself the passage into Mecklenburg, whose inhabitants were invited by a manifesto to return under the allegiance of their legitimate sovereign, and to expel Wallenstein's party. The Austrians, however, made themselves masters of the important town of Rostock, which prevented the farther advances of the King, who was unwilling to divide his forces. The Dukes of Mecklenburg had in vain employed the good offices of the princes assembled at Ratisbon in their favour with the Emperor; they had in vain, in order to soften Ferdinand, renounced the Swedish

Swedish alliance and every idea of resistance. But rendered desperate by the Emperor's inflexibility, they now openly espoused the party of the King of Sweden, and raised troops, the command of which they gave to Francis Charles Duke of Saxe Lauenburg. This general made himself master of some strong places on the Elbe, but lost them afterwards to the Imperial general Pappenheim, who was detached against him. Soon after, besieged by the latter in the town of Ratzeburg, he saw himself, after a fruitless attempt to make his escape, obliged to surrender with all his troops prisoners. Thus ended the attempt which those unfortunate princes made towards their reinstatement, and it was reserved for the victorious army of Gustavus Adolphus to render them that important service.

The flying bands of the Austrians had thrown themselves into the March of Brandenburg, which now became the scene of their ravages. Not contented with making the most wanton executions, and vexing the people by quartering soldiers upon them, these barbarians plundered the houses, ransacked every place where they suspected property to be concealed, took all the provisions which they could find, ill-treated

those who made the slightest opposition, and ravished even pregnant women. All this was not even committed in an enemy's country. It was the usage which the subjects of a prince received who had never injured the Emperor; and would, notwithstanding all those insults, willingly have been persuaded by the latter to join him against the King of Sweden. The aspect of those dreadful disorders which the want of money, and of sufficient authority, compelled them to tolerate, excited even the displeasure of the Austrian officers; and the general, Count Schaumburg, from shame wished to lay down the command. Without force sufficient to defend his territories, and left without assistance by the Emperor, who paid no attention to the most pressing remonstrances, the Elector at length issued an edict, ordering his subjects to repel force by force, and to kill without mercy every Imperial soldier who should in future be detected in plundering. To such a length were brought the ravages of the country, and the misery of its government, that the only desperate remedy which remained to the sovereign was to encourage private vengeance by a formal law.

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The Imperialists were followed by the Swedes into the March of Brandenburg; but upon the Elector's refusal to permit the latter to pass through the fortress of Custrin, the King was obliged to lay aside the design he had formed of besieging Frankfort on the Oder. He returned to complete the conquest of Pomerania, by taking Demmin and Colburg; in the mean time Field-marshal Tilly was advancing to defend Brandenburg.

This general, who could boast of never hitherto losing a battle, the conqueror of Mansfeld, the Duke of Brunswic, the Margrave of Baden, and the King of Denmark, was now, in the Swedish monarch, to find an adversary worthy of him. Tilly was descended from a noble family in the Liege country, and had formed his talents in the wars of the Netherlands, which was then the school of generals. Soon after he had an opportunity of distinguishing himself under the Emperor Rodolph II. in Hungary, where he rapidly rose from one step to another. After the peace he entered the service of the Duke of Bavaria, who made him commander in chief of his army, with absolute authority. Tilly, by his excellent institutions, was the founder of the Bavarian army,

and it was to him that the Duke owed all the superiority which he had hitherto maintained in the field. After the conclusion of the war in Bohemia he received the command of the army of the League, and now, upon Wallenstein's dismissal, that of the Imperial army. Equally strict towards his troops, implacable towards his enemies, and of as impenetrable a disposition as Wallenstein, he far exceeded the latter in probity and disinterestedness. A bigotted zeal for religion, and a bloody spirit of persecution, united with the natural ferocity of his character to render him the terror of the Protestants. A strange and terrific aspect betrayed his disposition : of low stature ; meagre, with hollow jaws, a long nose, a broad forehead, large whiskers, and a sharp chin. He commonly appeared in a Spanish doublet of green atlas, with close sleeves, and a small high-crowned hat, decorated with an enormous red feather, which reached down as far as his back. His whole aspect recalled to recollection the Duke of Alva, the scourge of the Flemings, and his actions were far from effacing that impression. Such was the general who was opposed to the hero of the North.

Tilly

Tilly was very far from entertaining a mean opinion of his antagonist: "The King of Sweden," said he, at the diet of Ratibon, "is an enemy whose prudence equals his valour; he is inured to war, and in the flower of his age. His dispositions are excellent, and his resources not small: the states of his kingdom are uncommonly attached to him. His army, composed of Swedes, Germans, Livonians, Finlanders, Scots, and English, is blended into one nation by blind obedience. This is the player from whom much is won even by losing nothing."

The progress of the King of Sweden in Brandenburg and Pomerania left the new general no time to lose, and those who commanded there called for him in the most pressing manner. With all possible haste he assembled the Imperial troops, who were scattered over the Empire; but it required a considerable time to procure the necessary supplies from the desolated, impoverished country. At length he appeared, in the midst of winter, at the head of 20,000 men, before Frankfurt on the Oder, where he joined the remainder of Schaumburg's troops. He left the defence of the fortress to the latter general with

with a sufficient garrison, and hastened to Pomerania, in order to save Demmin and relieve Colburg, which was already reduced to the utmost straits by the Swedes. But before he could leave Brandenburg, Demmin, which was extremely ill defended by the Duke of Savelli, was already in the hands of the King, and Colburg, after a siege of five months, was starved to a surrender. As the passes in Upper Pomerania were well guarded, and the King's camp near Schwedt defied every attack, Tilly abandoned his offensive plan of operations, and marched back towards the Elbe to besiege Magdeburg.

By the surrender of Demmin the entrance to Mecklenburg lay open to the King; but a more important undertaking drew his arms to another quarter. Tilly had no sooner commenced his retrograde march, than he instantly broke up his camp at Schwedt, and advanced with his whole army against Frankfurt on the Oder. This town was but badly fortified, though defended by a garrison of 8000 men, mostly composed of those furious bands who had so cruelly ravaged Brandenburg and Pomerania. It was attacked with impetuosity, and on the third day taken by storm. The

The Swedes, assured of victory, rejected a capitulation, though the enemy twice beat the *chamade*, determining to exercise the dreadful right of retaliation. Tilly had, soon after his arrival in this quarter, surrounded a Swedish detachment in Brandenburg, and, exasperated at the obstinacy of their resistance, had cut them in pieces to a man. This cruelty was now remembered by the Swedes when they took Frankfort. *Brandenburg quarter!* they replied to the Imperial soldiers who begged their lives, and slaughtered them without compassion. Several thousands were killed or taken, a number were drowned in the Oder, the remainder fled to Silesia, and all their artillery fell into the hands of the Swedes. To satisfy the rage of his troops, the King was under the necessity of giving up the town to be plundered for three hours.

While Gustavus Adolphus hastened from one victory to another, thereby encouraging the Protestants and augmenting their resistance, the Emperor continued without intermission to enforce the edict of restitution, and by exorbitant pretensions to exhaust the patience of the states. Necessity now obliged him to have recourse to acts of violence, which

which he had heretofore practised from infolence: from the embarrassment into which his arbitrary behaviour had thrown him, he could now only relieve himself by means equally arbitrary. But in so complicated a body as the German empire is, and always has been, the hand of despotism must ever create the utmost confusion. With astonishment the princes saw the constitution of their country overturned, and the approaching state of nature led them to self-defence, the only remedy in such a situation. At length, the open steps which the Emperor took against the Protestant church undeceived the Elector of Saxony, who had so long been the dupe of his artful policy. By the exclusion of his son from the archbishopric of Magdeburg, Ferdinand had personally offended him, and Field-marshal Amheim, his new favourite and minister, spared no pains to increase the resentment of his master. He had been formerly an Imperial general under Wallenstein, and being still the warm friend of the latter, he sought to avenge his old benefactor and himself upon the Emperor, and to detach the Elector of Saxony from the Austrian interests. The invasion of the Swedes seconded his intentions. Gustavus Adolphus was invincible, if once joined by the Protestant

Protestant states; and this more alarmed the Emperor. Saxony's example might bring the rest to declare themselves; and the Emperor's fate appeared, in some measure, to depend upon the Elector John George. The artful favourite made his master sensible of his present importance, and advised him, by threatening an alliance with Sweden, to alarm the Emperor, and to extort from the fears of that prince the conditions which he could not obtain from his gratitude. Yet he was against absolutely excluding him from the Swedish alliance, in order, by maintaining his independence, to continue his importance. He persuaded him to adopt a grand design (which nothing but an able genius prevented him from executing), to put himself at the head of the Protestants, to erect a third power in Germany, and thereby obtain the means of deciding the dispute between Austria and Sweden.

This plan was the more flattering to John George, who equally hated the idea of being dependant upon Sweden, and remaining any longer under the Emperor's tyranny. He could not with indifference behold the German affairs under the disposal of a foreign prince; and, notwithstanding his slender capacity to
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act a principal part, his vanity could not content itself with a second. He therefore determined to draw every possible advantage from the progress of the Swedish king, but still to pursue his own plan independent of the latter. For this purpose he consulted with the Elector of Brandenburg, who, from similar causes, was prepared to act against the Emperor, and, at the same time, was jealous of Sweden. After he had, in a diet held at Torgau, secured the Saxon states, whose consent was absolutely necessary to forward his plan, he invited all the Protestant states of the Empire to a general convention, which was opened at Leipzig on the 6th of February 1631. Brandenburg and Hesse Cassel, with several princes, counts, states of the Empire, and Protestant bishops, appeared in this assembly, either personally or by their deputies; and the business was opened by a vehement pulpit oration from the Saxon state chaplain, Dr. Hoe of Hohenegg. In vain did the Emperor endeavour to suppress this arbitrary meeting, which apparently reckoned upon its own strength, and was particularly alarming when the Swedes were in the Empire. The princes who assembled, encouraged by the progress of Gustavus Adolphus, maintained their rights, and in two months

months broke up, after coming to a remarkable resolution, which put Ferdinand in no small embarrassment. The purpose of this was effectually to address the Emperor to recall the edict of restitution, to withdraw his troops from their residences and fortresses, to suspend the executions, and abolish all the abuses hitherto practised; in the mean time, however, to assemble an army of 40,000 men, to be prepared to redress their grievances by force, should the Emperor refuse compliance.

An incident took place at the same time, which contributed not a little to augment the resolution of the Protestant princes. The King of Sweden had at length overcome the scruples which had hitherto deterred him from a closer union with France, and on the 13th of January 1631, concluded a formal treaty with that crown. After a very serious dispute concerning the future treatment of the Catholic princes of the Empire, whom France had taken under her protection, and upon whom Gustavus, on the contrary, was desirous of retaliating; and a wrangle of less importance, on the title of *His Majesty*, which the pride of France denied that of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus at length yielded in the former, and Richelieu
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in the latter article ; and the treaty of alliance was signed at Beerwald, in the New Mark. Both powers bound themselves to defend each other reciprocally by force of arms ; to reinstate the expelled princes of the Empire ; to protect their common friends ; and on the borders as well as in the interior of Germany to place matters upon the same footing in which they were at the commencement of the war. For this purpose Sweden engaged to maintain an army of 30,000 men in Germany, upon condition of receiving from France a yearly subsidy of 400,000 dollars. Wherever fortune attended the arms of Gustavus Adolphus, he was to respect, in all the conquered places, the Catholic religion and the laws of the Empire, and to make no change in either. The treaty was to be open for the admission of foreign states and princes, and no one party was to conclude a separate peace without the participation and consent of the other. This treaty was to continue in force five years.

Whatever efforts within himself it had cost the King of Sweden to receive subsidies from France, and to sacrifice the power of carrying on the war independently, this alliance was decisive for his cause in Germany.

It was now, when he was protected by the greatest power in Europe, that the states of Germany began to have a confidence in his undertaking, for the issue of which they had hitherto trembled, not without cause. It was now he became truly formidable to the Emperor. Even the Catholic princes, who were desirous of beholding the Emperor's humiliation, beheld with little jealousy his progress in Germany, since his alliance with a Catholic power secured their religion. Thus, while the invasion of Gustavus Adolphus protected the Protestants, and the liberty of the Empire against Ferdinand's oppression, the interference of France would equally defend the Catholic religion, and the liberties of Germany, against Gustavus Adolphus, should that prince, in the intoxication of success, venture to exceed the bounds of moderation.

The King of Sweden did not hesitate to communicate the treaty which he had concluded with France to the princes of the confederacy of Leipzig, and to invite them to a closer union with him. France also seconded him in this effort, and spared no pains to prevail upon the Elector of Saxony. Gustavus

Adolphus was satisfied with a private support, provided the princes still thought it too bold a step to declare themselves. Several princes gave him hopes that they would espouse his cause so soon as circumstances would permit: the Elector of Saxony, always full of distrust and jealousy towards the King, and constantly adhering to his selfish system of politics, could not be prevailed upon to act openly.

The conclusion of the convention of Leipzig, and the alliance between France and Sweden, were news equally disagreeable to the Emperor. Against them he employed the thunder of Imperial ordinances, and the want of an army alone prevented him from displaying towards France the entire force of his displeasure. Restrictions were laid upon all the members of the convention at Leipzig, by which they were, in the severest manner, prohibited from enlisting troops. They answered with the sharpest remonstrances, justified their conduct upon the principle of natural right, and continued their preparations.

In the mean time the Imperial generals, from want of money and troops, found themselves reduced to the necessity of confining their hostility either to the King of Sweden, or to the
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the states of the Empire, as, with a divided power, they were a match for neither. The movements of the Protestants drew their attention to the interior of the Empire; the King of Sweden's progress in the March of Brandenburg, which threatened the hereditary dominions of the Emperor in the vicinity, required them, without delay, to turn their arms to that quarter. After the conquest of Frankfurt, the King advanced against Landsburg on the Warta; and Tilly, unsuccessful in an attempt to relieve the former town, returned to Magdeburg to prosecute its siege.

The rich bishopric of which Magdeburg was the capital, was for a considerable time governed by Protestant princes of the house of Brandenburg, who introduced their religion there. Christian William, the last administrator, had, by his connexion with Denmark, fallen under the bann of the Empire, by which means the chapter, to avoid the Emperor's displeasure, found themselves under the necessity of formally deposing him. In his stead they placed John Augustus, second son of the Elector of Saxony, whom the Emperor rejected, in order to confer that archbishopric on his own son Leopold. The Elector of Saxony made, upon this occasion, inef-

fectual complaints to the Imperial court. Christian William of Brandenburg took more active measures. Assured of the attachment of the magistrates and inhabitants of Magdeburg, and excited by chimerical hopes, he thought himself capable of surmounting all the obstacles which the decision of the chapter, the opposition of two powerful competitors, and the edict of restitution, presented to his election. He went to Sweden, and sought, by the promise of a powerful diversion in Germany, to promote his cause. That king did not leave him without the hope of efficacious support, but at the same time cautioned him to act with prudence.

Scarcely had Christian William been informed of the landing of his protector in Pomerania, when he entered Magdeburg in disguise. He appeared suddenly in the town-council, reminded the magistrates of the destructive ravages which both the town and country had suffered from the Imperial troops, the ruinous pretensions of Ferdinand, and the danger of the Protestant church. After this prelude he disclosed to them that the moment of their deliverance was arrived, and that Gustavus Adolphus offered them his alliance and every

every assistance. Magdeburg, one of the principal towns in Germany, enjoyed under its magistrates a republican freedom, which inspired its inhabitants with a heroic enthusiasm; of this they had already displayed towards Wallenstein (who, captivated by their riches, had made exorbitant demands) the most laudable proofs, and maintained their rights by a vigorous resistance: their territory had in fact experienced the destructive rage of his troops, but Magdeburg itself escaped his vengeance. It was not, therefore, difficult for the Administrator to gain adherents among a people in whose memory a sense of past sufferings was still recent. An alliance was concluded between the city and the King of Sweden, in which Magdeburg granted the latter a free passage through its gates and territories, with a liberty of recruiting; and obtained the most effectual promise of protection for its religion and privileges.

The Administrator immediately collected troops, and commenced hostilities before Gustavus Adolphus was sufficiently near effectually to support him. He succeeded in defeating some Austrian detachments in the neighbourhood,

made a few small conquests, and even surprised Halle. But the approach of an Imperial army obliged him with all possible haste, and not without loss, to retreat to Magdeburg. Gustavus Adolphus, though displeased with this overhasty commencement, sent Falkenburg, an experienced officer, to regulate the military operations, and assist him with his counsel. Falkenburg was appointed by the magistrates governor of the town during the war; the Prince's army was daily increased by recruits arriving from the neighbouring towns; he gained several advantages over the Imperial regiments which were sent against him; and was able, for several months, to maintain with success a war of skirmishes.

At length Count Pappenheim approached, after concluding his expedition against the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, and having driven the Administrator's troops from their outposts, cut off all their communication with Saxony, and began to invest the place. He was soon after followed by Tilly, who summoned the Administrator, in a haughty letter, no longer to resist the edict of restitution, and to deliver up the town in obedience to the Emperor's commands. But the refusal of the Prince, couched in the most resolute

lute terms, obliged Tilly to have recourse to the force of arms.

Meanwhile the siege was prolonged, by reason of the King of Sweden's progress, which called the Austrian generals from before the place; and the jealousy which his successor entertained of him, procrastinated the fate of Magdeburg some months. But on the 30th of March 1631, Tilly returned, and began to prosecute the siege with great vigour.

In a short time all the outworks were carried, and Falkenburg withdrew the garrison from the opposite side of the river, after having destroyed the bridge upon the Elbe. As there were in the place troops sufficient to defend its extensive suburbs, those of Sudenburg and Neustadt were abandoned to the enemy, who immediately laid them in ashes. Pappenheim, quitting Tilly's corps, passed the Elbe at Schoenenbeck, to attack the town upon the opposite side.

The garrison, weakened by the action in the suburbs, amounted to no more than two thousand infantry, and some hundred horse; a small number for so extensive and irregular a fortress.

To supply the deficiency, the citizens were armed; a desperate expedient, which caused greater evils than it prevented. The citizens, naturally inexpert soldiers, ruined the town by their dissensions; the poorer sort complained that they were exposed to every danger and difficulty, while the rich, by hiring others to perform their duty, remained within their houses in safety. Their quarrels terminated in an open mutiny; indifference succeeded zeal, and vigilance gave place to neglect; their divisions, heightened by necessity, gradually produced despair, and many already began to repent of the opposition which they made to the Emperor. But religious zeal, the love of liberty, and their invincible hatred to the yoke of Austria, added to the expectation of speedy relief, made them still disdain the idea of a surrender; and though divided among themselves, they were united in the resolution of defending the ramparts to the last extremity.

The hopes of succour entertained by the besieged were not ill-grounded; they were informed of the confederacy of Leipzig, and the approach of Gustavus Adolphus; both were alike interested in the preservation of Magdeburg, and in a few days the King of Sweden was

was expected before its gates. These circumstances were not unknown to Tilly, who therefore hastened to make himself master of the place. He dispatched a trumpeter with several letters to the Administrator, the governor, and the citizens, to induce them to surrender; but he received for answer that death was preferable. A spirited attack of the garrison convinced him that their resolution was not abated; and the King of Sweden's arrival in Potsdam, together with the incursions of the Swedes as far as Zerbst, gave him uneasiness, while it raised the hopes of the garrison. A second trumpeter was sent, and the more moderate tone of his demands further increased their presumption and negligence.

The besiegers had now pushed their approaches as far as the ditch, and vigorously cannonaded the walls from their batteries; one tower was entirely overthrown, but did not facilitate the enemy's attack, as it fell on one side, and not into the ditch. Notwithstanding the continual bombardment, the walls had not suffered much; and the effect of the fire-balls, intended to kindle flames in the town, was prevented by the excellent measures which were taken

taken to oppose them. But the ammunition of the besieged was now expended, and the fire from the town ceased gradually to return that of the Imperialists. Before a fresh supply could be obtained, it was necessary that Magdeburg should be either relieved or surrender to the enemy. The expectations of the besieged were now raised to the utmost, and all eyes were anxiously turned towards the quarter where the Swedish standard was expected to appear. Gustavus Adolphus was sufficiently near to be able to reach Magdeburg in three days; the security of the besieged augmented with their hopes, and every circumstance contributed to increase it. On the 9th of May the fire of the Imperialists suddenly ceased, and the cannon were withdrawn from several of their batteries. Every circumstance now tended to inspire the besieged with the speedy hopes of relief; the greater part of the guard, both citizens and soldiers, left their posts on the ramparts early in the morning, in order, after their long toils, to indulge themselves in sleep. But it was a dear sleep, and miserable waking!

Tilly had at length relinquished the hope of being able to render himself master of the place, before the arrival of the Swedes, by the means

means which he had hitherto employed, and determined to raise the siege, but previously make a general assault. That plan was, however, attended with much difficulty, as no breach had been effected, and the works were scarcely injured; but the council of war, assembled on the occasion, declared unanimously for an assault, citing the example of Maestricht, which was taken by storm early in the morning, while the burghers and soldiers were reposing themselves*.

It was accordingly resolved upon to attack the town at once in four different places; and the necessary preparations were made during the night of the 9th and 10th of May. All was ready, and awaited the signal of cannon at five in the morning; the signal was not, however, given until two hours later, as Tilly, still doubtful of success, had re-assembled the council of war. Pappenheim was ordered to storm the works of the new town, where he was favoured by a low rampart and a dry ditch of moderate depth; the citizens and soldiers had

* This was in the preceding century, by Alexander of Parma. See the elaborate description of it in *Strada de Bello Belgico*. The same arguments were urged by the celebrated Vauban afterwards, in storming Valenciennes, and succeeded. *Transf.*

mostly

mostly abandoned the walls, and the remaining few were overcome by sleep; it therefore became easy for this general to gain the outworks.

Falkenburg, aroused by the report of small arms, hastened from the town-house, where he was employed in dispatching Tilly's second trumpeter, to assemble all the force he could meet, and went to the gate of the new town, of which the enemy had already taken possession. There repulsed, the brave general flew to another, where a second detachment of the enemy was preparing to scale the walls; after an ineffectual resistance, he fell in the commencement of the action. The vehement fire of musketry, and the shouts of the assailants, at length awoke the inhabitants; they immediately betook themselves to arms, and opposed the enemy in a confused manner. Still some hopes of repulsing the besiegers remained; but the governor being killed, there was no plan of attack, no cavalry to support the garrison; and at length, their powder being exhausted, nothing remained to sustain the fire. Two other gates, hitherto unattacked, were stripped of their defenders to relieve the town in another quarter; the enemy rapidly availed themselves of the confusion occasioned by this, to attack those

those posts: the resistance was nevertheless obstinate, until four Imperial regiments, at length masters of the ramparts, took the garrison in the rear, and completed their confusion. A brave captain named Schmidt, whose intrepidity led him amid the tumult, made a final assault upon the enemy, and even repulsed them to the gates; but at length being killed, the hopes of Magdeburg expired with him; all the works were carried before noon, and the town was in possession of the enemy.

Two gates were now opened by the assailants for the remainder of the army, and Tilly immediately entered with a part of his infantry; he took possession of the principal streets, and with pointed cannon ordered the citizens into their houses to await their destiny. They were not long held in suspense; a word from Tilly decided the fate of Magdeburg. Even the efforts of a more humane general would have in vain attempted to restrain such troops within bounds: but this commander did not once recommend mercy. Left at his own disposal by the silence of his general, the foldier broke into houses to satiate his most brutal appetites; the imploring innocence which found compassion from the Germans, could meet with none from

from Pappenheim's Walloons. Scarce had the massacre commenced, when the remaining gates were thrown open, and all the cavalry and Croats let loose against the unfortunate inhabitants.

Here commenced a scene, to describe which, history has no language, poetry no pencil. Neither the innocence of childhood, nor the debility of old age; neither youth, sex, beauty, nor condition, could disarm the fury of the conquerors. Wives were abused in the arms of their husbands, daughters at the feet of their parents, and the defenceless sex was exposed to the double sacrifice of virtue and life; no situation, however sacred or elevated, was exempt from insult. Fifty-three dead bodies of women who had been beheaded were found in the cathedral: the Croats amused themselves in throwing children into the flames; Pappenheim's Walloons in murdering infants at the breast. Some officers of the Catholic League, shocked at those frightful scenes, entreated Tilly to stop the effusion of blood. "Return in an hour," was his stern answer; "I will then see what is to be done; the soldier must have some reward for his toils." The massacre lasted with incessant fury until the smoke and flames inter-

interrupted the plunderers. To augment the confusion, and prevent the resistance of the inhabitants, the town had been set on fire in different quarters; a storm arose which spread the flames with rapidity, and soon made them universal. The horrors of the scene were augmented by the dead bodies, falling ruins, and streams of blood; the atmosphere was heated, and the intenseness of the vapour at length compelled the conquerors to take refuge in their camp. In less than twelve hours this strong, populous, and extensive city, one of the finest in Germany, lay in ashes, with the exception of two churches and a few houses. The Administrator, Christian William, after receiving a number of wounds, was taken prisoner, together with three burgomasters. A number of brave officers and magistrates were killed. The avarice of the Imperial officers spared four hundred of the citizens from the slaughter, to obtain from them an exorbitant ransom. Even this piece of humanity, which made them appear guardian angels in comparison with the Austrians, was principally shown by the officers of the League.

Scarcely was the fury of the flames diminished, when the Imperialists returned to continue the
I pillage

pillage amid the ruins and ashes; several of them were suffocated in the smoke; many obtained rich booty in the cellars, where the inhabitants had concealed their most valuable effects. On the 13th of May, Tilly himself appeared in the town. Horrible was the scene which presented itself to humanity! The living crawling from under the dead; children wandering about with heart-rending cries, calling for their parents; infants suckling at the dead bodies of their mothers!

Above six thousand slain were thrown into the Elbe to clear the streets; a much greater number were consumed by the flames. The entire amount of the slaughtered was calculated at thirty thousand.

The entry of the general, which took place on the 14th, put a stop to the plunder, and saved those who had hitherto been spared. About a thousand people were taken out of the cathedral, where they had remained three days and two nights without food, and in continual fear of death; Tilly announced to them quarter, and ordered bread to be distributed among them. The next day a solemn mass

was performed in this cathedral, and *Te Deum* sung under a discharge of artillery. The Imperial general rode through the streets, the better, as an eye-witness, to be able to inform his master that no such conquest had been made since the destruction of Troy and Jerusalem. Neither was this assertion exaggerated, if we consider the greatness, the prosperity, the importance of the city razed, together with the fury of its conquerors.

The news of the dreadful fate of Magdeburg excited exultation among the Catholics, and spread terror and dismay among the Protestants of Germany. Loud and general complaints were uttered against the King of Sweden, who, at the head of such a force, and in the very neighbourhood, left to its fate this city, which was allied to him. Even the most rational found the King's inactivity incomprehensible; and Gustavus Adolphus, that he might not irrecoverably lose the attachment of a people to whose delivery he was come, saw himself under the necessity of publishing to the world a justification of his conduct upon this occasion.

He had attacked Landsburg, and gained it on the 16th of April, when he learned the danger to which Magdeburg was exposed. Without delay he determined to relieve it, and immediately putting himself at the head of all his cavalry, and ten regiments of infantry, marched towards the Spree. The situation in which he found himself, rendered it necessary that he should not move forward without previously securing his rear. With caution he must now traverse a country where he was surrounded by suspicious friends and formidable enemies, and where one false step would cut him off from his own country. The Elector of Brandenburg had already opened Custrin to the flying Imperialists, and shut it against their Swedish pursuers. Were Gustavus to be unfortunate against Tilly, this Elector could open all his fortresses to the Imperialists, and the King, with an enemy in front and rear, was then irrecoverably lost. To avoid this accident in his present undertaking, before he advanced to relieve Magdeburg, he required from the Elector the cession of Custrin and Spandau*.

* The King's conduct upon this occasion, as well as on all others, displays a consummate generalship. *Transf.*

Nothing appeared more reasonable than this demand. The great service which Gustavus Adolphus had lately rendered the Elector by the expulsion of the Imperialists from the territories of Brandenburg, afforded him a claim to gratitude, while the conduct of the Swedes in Germany gave them pretensions to confidence. But by the surrender of his fortresses, the Elector, in some measure, made the King of Sweden master of his country, breaking with the Emperor, and thereby exposing his territories to the future vengeance of the Imperialists. George William had a long contest with himself, but pusillanimity and self-interest at length appeared to prevail. Unmoved by the fate of Magdeburg, callous towards religion and German liberty, he saw nothing but his own danger; and this indifference was increased to the utmost pitch by his minister Schwartzenberg, who was privately corrupted by the Emperor. In the mean time, the Swedish troops drew near Berlin, and the King took up his residence with the Elector. When he perceived the painful anxiety of this prince, he could not contain his displeasure: "I march," said he, "to relieve Magdeburg, not for my own advantage, but for that of the Protestant religion. If unsupported, I will immediately

“ begin my retreat, enter into a treaty with
“ the Emperor, and return to Stockholm. I
“ am convinced that Ferdinand will grant me
“ whatever peace I require. But if Magde-
“ burg is once lost, and the Emperor relieved
“ from his apprehensions of me, reflect upon
“ the consequences.” This timely threat, and
perhaps also the aspect of the Swedish army,
which was sufficiently powerful to obtain that
by force which he demanded peaceably, at
length influenced the Elector to deliver Span-
dau into his hands.

The King now possessed two roads to Magdeburg, of which one to the westward led through an exhausted country, and amid the enemy's troops, who might dispute the passage of the Elbe with him. But this could not take place without the consent of the Elector of Saxony, in whom Gustavus placed the utmost distrust. Accordingly, previous to his beginning his march, he demanded of that prince a free passage and subsistence for his troops, on ready payment. His demand was rejected, and no representations could prevail upon the Elector to depart from his system of neutrality. While this point was disputed, intelligence arrived of the capture of Magdeburg.

Tilly announced this event to the Protestant princes in the tone of a conqueror, and lost not a moment to profit by the universal consternation it excited. The Emperor's consequence, visibly diminished by the progress which Gustavus Adolphus had already made, was raised higher than ever upon this decisive event; and he soon displayed this alteration in the imperious language with which he addressed the Protestant states. The resolutions of the confederacy of Leipzig were annulled by a proclamation, itself was suppressed by an Imperial decree, and all the refractory states were threatened with the fate of Magdeburg. As executor of this Imperial mandate, Tilly immediately ordered troops to march against the Bishop of Bremen, who was a member of the confederacy of Leipzig, and had enlisted soldiers. The terrified Bishop immediately gave them up to the General, and formally renounced the confederacy of Leipzig. An Imperial army, which had lately returned from Italy, under the command of Count Furstenberg, acted in the same manner towards the Administrator of Wirtemberg. The Duke was obliged to submit to the edict of restitution, and all the decrees of the Emperor; and also to pay a monthly subsidy of 100,000 dollars,

dollars, towards subsisting the Imperial army. Similar grievances were imposed upon Ulm and Nuremberg, and the entire circles of Suabia and Franconia. The Emperor was now become the terror of Germany. The sudden superiority which he obtained upon the occasion, more from appearance than reality, made him exceed the bounds of that moderation which he had hitherto observed, and led him to violent measures, which at length turned the irresolution of the German princes to the advantage of Gustavus Adolphus. The immediate consequences of Magdeburg's destruction were not more injurious to the Protestants, than its distant effects were advantageous. The first surprise soon made room for an active resentment. Despair afforded courage, and the liberties of Germany arose out of the ashes of Magdeburg.

Among the princes of the Leipzig confederacy, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel were the most powerful, and the Emperor's authority remained unconfirmed until they were disarmed. Tilly first turned his arms against the Landgrave, and marched from Magdeburg towards Thuringia. The countries of Saxe Ernest and Schwartzenburg were

were upon this march extremely ill treated, and Frankenhäusen, even before the eyes of Tilly, plundered and laid in ashes with impunity. The unfortunate subject must, upon this occasion, make dear sacrifices for his master's attachment to Sweden. Erfurt, the key between Saxony and Franconia, was threatened with a siege; from which, however, it redeemed itself by supplying the Imperialists with provisions and a sum of money. From thence Tilly dispatched his ambassadors to the Landgrave of Cassel, to require the immediate dismissal of his forces; the renunciation of the confederacy of Leipzig; the reception of Imperial troops in his territory and fortresses, for the purpose of raising contributions; and either to declare himself a friend or an enemy. Such was the treatment which a sovereign prince of Germany was now to receive from a servant of the Emperor. But these extravagant demands acquired a formidable weight from the force which accompanied them, and the recent remembrance of the dreadful fate of Magdeburg must naturally increase their impression. This renders the intrepidity of the Landgrave's following answer the more admirable; "The admission of foreign troops into his fortresses and capital, the Landgrave cannot allow;

“ his troops he himself wants ; he will resist
“ any attack. If General Tilly requires money
“ and provisions, he need only go to Munich,
“ where there is a supply of both.” The irrup-
tions of two bodies of Imperialists into Hesse-
Cassel were the immediate consequence of this
spirited answer ; but the Landgrave gave them
such a reception that they gained nothing. But
after Tilly himself was on the point of following
them with his whole army, the unfortunate
country would have dearly purchased the firm-
ness of its sovereign, if the movements of the
King of Sweden had not, at a critical moment,
recalled that general to another quarter.

Gustavus Adolphus had, with the severest
affliction, learned the destruction of Magde-
burg ; and this was now augmented by the
demand of George William, of having Span-
dau restored to him according to their agree-
ment. The loss of Magdeburg had rather
augmented than lessened the motives for which
the King sought possession of that fortress : and
the greater the probability of a decisive battle
between him and Tilly became, the more
painful it was to relinquish the sole retreat
which he possessed in case of a defeat. After
he had fruitlessly expended his entreaties and
remon-

remonstrances with the Elector of Brandenburg, and the coldness of the latter rather daily increased, he at length sent orders to his commander at Spandau to evacuate the place; but at the same time declared, that he would from that day regard the Elector as an enemy.

To give weight to this declaration, he appeared at the head of his whole army before Berlin. "I will not be worse treated than the Emperor's generals," was his answer to the deputies which the confounded Elector sent to his camp: "your master has received them in his territories, provided them with every necessary, delivered up every place which they desired, and yet, by all these acts of complaisance, could not prevail upon them to act with humanity towards his people. All that I require from him is security, a moderate sum of money, and bread for my troops: in return for which I promise to protect his country, and to keep the war at a distance from him. On these points, however, I must rest, and my brother the Elector must instantly determine to have me as a friend, or see his capital plundered." This decisive tone made an impression, and the pointing of cannon against the town

town overcame the doubts of George William. In a few days a treaty was signed, in which the Elector agreed to pay 30,000 dollars monthly, to leave Spandau in the King's hands, and engaged to open Custrin at all times to his troops. This decisive alliance of the Elector of Brandenburg with the Swedes found no better reception in Vienna than that of the Duke of Pomerania had formerly done; but the unfavourable change of fortune which it soon after experienced permitted the Emperor to display his resentment in no other manner than by his words.

The King's pleasure upon this agreeable intelligence was augmented on hearing that Griefswald, the only fortress which the Imperialists maintained in Pomerania, had surrendered, and that the whole country was cleared of this desperate enemy. He appeared once more in this duchy, and was much gratified at the universal joy with which the people received him. A year had elapsed since Gustavus had entered Germany, and that event was now celebrated by the whole duchy of Pomerania as a festival. A short time before, the Czar of Muscovy had sent ambassadors to congratulate him, renew his alliance, and

and even offer him troops. He had the greater reason to rejoice at this friendly disposition of the Russians, as it was contrary to his interests in this dangerous war to be disturbed in his progress. Not long after his Queen, Maria Eleonora, landed with a reinforcement of 8000 men in Pomerania; and the arrival of 6000 English troops under the Marquis of Hamilton, can be the less passed in silence, as *their arrival alone* is all which history mentions of the English troops during the thirty years war *.

Pappenheim had, during Tilly's expedition to Thuringia, commanded in the territories of Magdeburg, but could not prevent the Swedes from passing the Elbe at various times, cutting off a number of Imperial detachments, and taking possession of several places. He himself, rendered anxious by the King of Sweden's approach, immediately recalled Tilly, and pre-

* These auxiliaries were Scots and English, and afford the first example, perhaps, that ever occurred, of British troops performing nothing worthy of their native country in a foreign one. They were, however, commanded by a hypocrite and a coward, as his subsequent conduct, when opposed to Cromwell, showed him to be. *Transf.*

vailed

vailed upon him to return by rapid marches to Magdeburg. Tilly encamped on one side of the river at Wolmerstadt ; Gustavus Adolphus placed himself at Werben, near the conflux of the Havel and the Elbe. The latter's approach in these quarters portended no advantage to Tilly. The Swedes routed three of his regiments which were posted in villages at a distance from the army, took one half of their baggage, and burned the remainder. Tilly in vain approached within cannon-shot of the King's camp, and offered him battle. Gustavus, one half weaker than his adversary, prudently declined it ; and his position was too strong to permit an attack. There ensued a cannonade and some skirmishes, in which the Swedes had constantly the advantage. Tilly's army was diminished on his retreat to Wolmerstadt by great desertion : ever since the carnage of Magdeburg fortune had forsaken him ; on the contrary, it had uninterruptedly attended the King of Sweden while he continued at Werben : all Mecklenburg, with the exception of a few places, was conquered by his general Tott, and the Duke Adolphus ; and he enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing both princes reinstated in their dominions. He went to Gustrow, where the reinstatement

ment took place, and by his presence augmented the solemnity of the installation. With their deliverer in the middle, and a splendid train of princes, both the Dukes made a solemn entry, which the joy of their subjects concluded in a sincere festival. Soon after the King's return to Werben, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel came to his camp, to conclude a close offensive and defensive alliance with him—the first sovereign primate in Germany who openly declared against the Emperor, but who was led to it by the most pressing motives. The Landgrave engaged to act against the King's enemies as his own, to give him the free use of his territory and towns, and to supply his army with provisions and every other necessary. In return for this, the King declared himself his friend and protector, and promised to conclude no peace without obtaining from the Emperor a full redress of grievances for the Landgrave. On both sides sincerity was observed. Hesse Cassel adhered, during the whole of this tedious war, to the Swedish alliance; and had cause, at the peace of Westphalia, to boast of the Swedish friendship.

Tilly, from whom the bold step of the Landgrave was not long concealed, detached Count
Tugger

Tugger with some regiments against him, and at the same time endeavoured to excite his subjects to rebellion by inflammatory letters. His letters made as little impression as his regiments, which had in the sequel such bad success in the action of Breitenfeld; and the Hessian states could not for a moment balance between their oppressor and their protector.

But the Imperial general was much more occupied by the equivocal conduct of the Elector of Saxony, who, notwithstanding the Emperor's prohibition, continued his preparations, and adhered to the confederacy at Leipzig. At this conjunction, when the approach of the Swedish King rendered a decisive battle inevitable, it appeared a serious consideration to let the Elector remain in arms, which he could in a moment convert to the use of the enemy. Tilly had just been reinforced by 25,000 veteran troops, commanded by Furstenberg; and confident of his strength, he trusted, by the bare terror of his arrival, or at least with little trouble, to prevail upon the Elector to join him. Before he left his camp at Wolmerstadt, he required the Elector, by a special embassy, to lay open his country to the Imperial troops, either to dismiss his own
or

or join them to the Imperial army, and, in conjunction with it, to expel the King of Sweden from Germany. He at the same time put him in mind, that of all the countries in Germany, Saxony was that which had been most respected; and threatened him, in case of refusal, with the most destructive ravages.

Tilly had chosen for this imperative demand a period the most unfavourable. The persecution of his religion and his allies, the destruction of Magdeburg, and the ravages of the Imperialists in Lusatia, all contributed to incense the Elector against the Emperor. The approach of Gustavus Adolphus, however little pretension he had to this prince's protection, inspired him with courage. He accordingly forbade the quartering of Imperialists in his territories, and resolutely persisted in his warlike preparations. "However it must surprise him," added he, "to see the Imperial troops advancing towards his territories at a period when the King of Sweden afforded them sufficient occupation, he had no expectation of seeing his services requited with ingratitude, and the ruin of his country." To Tilly's deputies, who were regaled in a princely manner, he gave a more decisive answer on their

their departure: "Gentlemen," said he, "I perceive the Saxon confectionary, which has been so long spared, is at length to be set upon the table. But as it is customary to accompany it with nuts and dishes of parade, be cautious that your teeth do not suffer on the occasion."

Immediately upon this Tilly broke up his camp, and amid the most dreadful devastation advanced towards Halle, while he renewed his demands on the Elector of Saxony in a more earnest and threatening tone. If we recollect the maxims hitherto observed by this prince, who by his own concessions and those of his minister, had promoted the interests of the Emperor, at the expense of the duties which were most sacred to him, and who had already been retained in inactivity with so little artifice, we must be amazed at the infatuation of the Emperor and his minister, who at this critical juncture opposed their true interests, and by violent measures incensed a prince who might otherwise, by lenient steps have been so easily attached to them. Was this the object of Tilly? Was it in order to convert a doubtful friend into an open enemy, and thereby to absolve himself from that clemency with which,
by

by the Emperor's secret orders, he had treated the territories of that prince? Or was it the Emperor's intention to compel the Elector to embrace hostile measures, and to rid himself with a good grace from the understanding which he hitherto maintained with him? At all events, we cannot but be amazed at the haughtiness of Tilly, which could not refrain itself, in presence of a formidable enemy, from creating a new one, and the indifference of that general in permitting without opposition the union of both.

John George, rendered desperate by the entrance of Tilly into his territories, threw himself, not without a violent struggle, under the protection of Sweden.

Immediately upon dispatching Tilly's embassy, he sent Field-marshal Arnheim to the camp of Gustavus, to make a proffer of his alliance to that monarch, whom he had so long neglected. The King concealed the inward pleasure which this developement produced. "I am grieved," replied he coldly to the deputy, "for the Elector. Had he attended "to my repeated remonstrances, his country "would never have been invaded, and Mag-

“ deburg would still have remained unin-
“ jured. Now, when pressed by necessity, he
“ has recourse to my assistance : but inform
“ him that I am far from sacrificing myself
“ and my allies for the Elector of Saxony.
“ Who can pledge himself for the sincerity of
“ a prince whose minister is in the pay of Auf-
“ tria, and who will abandon me so soon as
“ the Emperor flatters him, and withdraws his
“ troops from his dominions? Tilly has al-
“ ready considerably increased his army, but
“ this shall not prevent me from meeting him
“ when I have secured a retreat.”

The Saxon minister could reply to these re-
proaches in no other terms than by promising
to bury past transactions in oblivion. He
pressed the King to declare the conditions upon
which he came to the assistance of Saxony, and
engaged previously their being granted : “ I
“ desire,” answered Gustavus, “ that the
“ Elector shall deliver me his fortress of Wit-
“ tenberg, and his eldest sons as hostages, three
“ months pay for my troops, and that he shall
“ deliver up the betrayer of his ministry :
“ upon these conditions I am ready to afford
“ him my aid.”

“ Not

“ Not Wittenberg alone,” answered the Elector, when he received this answer, and sent back the minister to the Swedish camp, “ but
“ Torgau and all Saxony shall be open to
“ him ; my whole family shall be his hostages ;
“ and if that is insufficient, I shall offer myself. Return, and inform him that I am
“ ready to deliver him up such traitors as he
“ names, to grant his army the desired payment, and to expose my life and fortune in
“ a cause so just.”

The King was only desirous of putting the new sentiments of John George to the test. Convinced of his sincerity, he retracted his severe demands. “ The distrust,” said he, “ which
“ was observed towards me when I advanced
“ to the relief of Magdeburg, had naturally
“ excited mine ; the present reliance of the
“ Elector demands a return. I am satisfied,
“ provided he grants my army a month’s
“ pay, and promise to indemnify him for this
“ grant.”

Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, the King crossed the Elbe, and the next day joined the Saxons. Instead of opposing this junction, Tilly had advanced against

Leipzig, which he summoned to receive an Imperial garrison. In the hope of a sudden relief, the governor, Hans Pforta, had prepared for a defence, and laid the suburbs of Halle in ashes. But the ill condition of the works rendered all resistance vain, and on the second day the gates were opened. Tilly had taken up his abode in the house of a gravedigger, the only one which remained standing in the suburbs of Halle. Here he signed the capitulation, and was informed of the King of Sweden's immediate approach. Tilly grew pale at the representation of death's-heads and bones, with which the proprietor had decorated his house. Leipzig experienced a moderation which was unexpected.

Meanwhile a council of war was held between the Elector of Saxony and the King of Sweden, at Torgau, in presence of the Elector of Brandenburg. A resolution was now to take place which was irrevocably to decide the fate of Germany and the Protestant religion. The anxiety of the Elector, which naturally arose before every circumstance of importance, now appeared for a moment to overshadow the soul of Gustavus Adolphus: "When we now resolve upon a battle," said he, "a crown
4 " and

“ and two electorates are at stake. Fortune
“ is changeable, and the inscrutable decrees of
“ Heaven can give the victory to our enemies.
“ It is true my crown would still have a refuge
“ left, in case of the ruin of myself and army.
“ Defended by a considerable fleet and a war-
“ like people, they could still oppose the worst :
“ but where, in case of defeat, can you hope
“ for safety from an enemy which lies so con-
“ tiguous ?”

Gustavus Adolphus displayed the diffidence of a hero who did not overrate his strength in competition with that of his enemy ; John George, the confidence of a weaker who felt a hero at his assistance. Impatient to free his country from two armies, he burned impatiently for a battle which might decide the contest. He was desirous, with his Saxons, to advance against Leipzig, and attack Tilly. At length Gustavus Adolphus adopted his measures, and determined upon a battle with the enemy before the arrival of the reinforcements which the generals Altringer and Tiefenbach led to him. The united Swedish and Saxon armies crossed the Mulda, the Elector of Brandenburg returned homeward.

Early in the morning of the 7th of September the hostile armies came in view. Tilly resolved to await the arrival of his reinforcements, after he had in vain endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Saxon army with the Swedes, and had, near Leipzig, occupied a strong and advantageous position, in which he expected to avoid a battle. The impetuosity of Pappenheim induced him, upon the approach of the enemy's army, who were prepared to attack him, to change his position, and place his left towards the hill which leads from the village of Wahren to Lindenthal. At the foot of this eminence his army was extended in one line, his artillery divided upon the hill, whence it could sweep the extensive plain of Breitenfeld. The united Swedish and Saxon armies now advanced in two columns, which had to pass the Lober, and a village on Tilly's front. To prevent his passage of this rivulet, Pappenheim was detached at the head of 2000 cuirassiers, though after a long resistance of Tilly, and with express orders not to commence a battle. Notwithstanding these orders, Pappenheim encountered the vanguard of the Swedes, but after a short conflict was compelled to retreat. To interrupt the enemy, he set fire to Podelwitz, which, however, did not prevent the

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the armies from closing and forming in order of battle.

The Swedes formed on the right upon two lines, the infantry in the centre, divided into small battalions, which could be easily manœuvred, without disturbing their order, and were adapted for the most rapid movements; the cavalry, placed on the wings, were also divided into small squadrons, and interspersed with bodies of musketeers, which would conceal the smallness of their numbers and annoy the enemy's horse. The centre was commanded by Colonel Teufel, the left by Gustavus Horn, the right by the King in person, opposite Count Pappenheim. The Saxons were formed at a considerable interval from the Swedes; a disposition of Gustavus which the sequel justified. The order of battle had originally been concerted between the Elector and his field-marshal, and had barely been laid before the King for his consent. He appeared anxious to divide the Swedish prowess from the Saxons, and fortune did not confound them.

Under the heights towards the west the enemy was extended in a long line, which was capable of outflanking the Swedish army, the

infantry in great battalions, and the cavalry divided equally in unwieldy squadrons. His artillery was in his rear, on the heights, and he formed under its range. From such a position of the artillery, if this intelligence is to be credited, it must be concluded that Tilly's object was more to await than to attack the enemy, as this order rendered it impossible for him to break the enemy's ranks without exposing himself to the fire of his own cannon. Tilly himself commanded in the centre, upon the left Pappenheim, and upon the right Count Furstenberg. The combined army of the Emperor and the League amounted on this day to between thirty-four and thirty-five thousand men; that of the Swedes was nearly of a similar number.

But had a million of the human species been confronted with another, it could not have rendered this day more bloody, important, or decisive. It was for this battle that Gustavus Adolphus had crossed the Baltic, fought danger in distant countries, and exposed his life and his crown to capricious fortune. The two most consummate generals of the age, both hitherto invincible, were now, in a contest long avoided, to enter into a competition; one of them must
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leave his past renown upon the field of battle. All Germany beheld this day with fear and trembling; the cotemporary world awaited its event with anxiety, and posterity was either to praise or deplore it.

Tilly's usual intrepidity seemed to fail him upon this day; he had formed no regular plan to give the King battle, and displaying as little firmness to avoid it. Pappenheim had compelled him to an action contrary to his intentions; doubts, hitherto unfelt, combated in his breast, gloomy presentiments overcast his brow; the shade of Magdeburg seemed to hover over him.

A cannonade of two hours commenced the battle. The wind was westerly, and blew thick clouds of smoke and dust from newly ploughed fields against the Swedes. This compelled the King insensibly to wheel northwards; and the rapidity with which this movement was performed, did not give time to the enemy to prevent it.

At length Tilly left his eminence, and commenced his attack upon the Swedes; but to avoid the vehemence of their fire, he turned to
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the right, and fell upon the Saxons with such impetuosity, that he threw their whole army into confusion; the Elector himself retired to Eilenburg. A few regiments still kept their ground, and by a manful resistance saved the honour of the Saxon name. Scarce was this confusion perceived, when the Croats began to plunder, and messengers were dispatched to Munich and Vienna with the tidings of victory.

In the mean time Tilly had vanquished the remainder of the Saxons, and fell with his veteran troops upon the left wing of the Swedes. To that wing, so soon as he perceived the disorder among the Saxons, the King had immediately detached three regiments to cover the flank, which was left exposed by the flight of his allies. Gustavus Horn, who commanded here, gave the enemy a spirited resistance, to which the infantry, divided among his squadrons of horse, not a little contributed. The enemy already appeared to relax in their efforts, when Gustavus Adolphus made his appearance to terminate the contest. The left wing of the Imperialists was routed, and the King's troops, which were not hitherto engaged, could be employed in any quarter; he accordingly

ingly wheeled with his left wing and main body to the left, and attacked the eminence where the enemy's artillery was placed. In a short time he was in possession of it, and the enemy felt the effect of their own cannon.

The fire of artillery on its flank, and the attack of the Swedes in its front, at length brought the hitherto invincible army into disorder. A sudden retreat was all that remained for Tilly; but this retreat must be made in the midst of his enemy. The whole army fell into confusion, except four regiments of chosen veterans, who had hitherto been unaccustomed to fly before an enemy, and now determined not to begin the practice. With closed ranks they engaged in the midst of their enemies, and in the height of the combat gained a small thicket, where they opposed the Swedes until night, when their numbers were reduced to six hundred; with them fled the remainder of Tilly's army, and the battle was decided.

Amid the dead and wounded Gustavus Adolphus threw himself on his knees, and his first expression of joy for his victory was announced in a thanksgiving to Heaven. He ordered the enemy to be pursued, as far as the darkness of
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the night would permit, by his cavalry; the noise of alarm-bells put all the neighbouring villagers in motion, and proved fatal to such fugitives as fell into the hands of the incensed peasantry. The King encamped with his army between the field of battle and Leipzig, it being impossible for him to attack the town on the same night; seven thousand of the enemy lay dead upon the field, and more than five thousand were either wounded or prisoners; their whole camp, artillery, and more than a hundred standards, were taken. The Saxons had two thousand, and the Swedes not above seven hundred men missing. The defeat of the Austrians was so complete, that Tilly, upon his retreat to Halberstadt and Halle, could not collect above six hundred men, nor Pappenheim above fourteen hundred. So rapid was the ruin of this formidable army, which had lately put Germany and Italy into consternation.

Tilly had to thank accident for his personal deliverance. Though exhausted by several wounds, he still refused to surrender himself prisoner to a Swedish captain of horse, who was on the point of killing him, when a pistol shot laid the latter upon the ground. But the vexation of outliving his fame was far more painful

painful to him than his danger and his wounds ; and the losing the labour of his life in one day, was highly grievous. All his victories were now nothing after losing the one which was intended to crown them ; nothing remained of his exploits but the execration of mankind which accompanied him. After this day, Tilly never recovered his wonted vivacity, and fortune returned to him no more ; even his last consolation, revenge, was denied him by the express prohibition of his master, who ordered him no longer to risk a decisive battle.

To three mistakes are principally attributed the misfortune of this day : to have posted his artillery in the rear of his army upon the heights ; to have afterwards abandoned those heights ; and to have permitted the enemy, without interruption, to form in order of battle. And how quickly were all those mistakes taken advantage of by the calm presence of mind and superior genius of his adversary ? Tilly fled to Halle and Halberstadt, and had scarcely time to have his wounds dressed before he hastened to reinforce himself with the Imperial garrisons in Lower Saxony.

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The Elector of Saxony had not failed, after the danger was past, to appear in the Swedish camp. The King thanked him for advising him to a battle; and John George, during the first transports occasioned by this friendly reception, promised Gustavus the dignity of King of the Romans. On the next day the King advanced towards Merseburg, which was abandoned by the Elector, in order to attack Leipzig; five thousand Imperialists, which he met on his march, were partly cut down, and partly entered his service. Merseburg immediately surrendered; shortly after Halle was conquered, whither the Elector of Saxony, after the taking of Leipzig, betook himself to concert the future plan of operations.

The battle was gained, but a wise disposition could alone render it decisive. The Imperial army was totally routed, Saxony was freed from the enemy, and Tilly had retreated towards Brunswic. In order to pursue him, the war must be renewed in Lower Saxony, which had scarcely recovered from the late ravages. It was in consequence resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country, which lay exposed as far as Vienna to the conqueror; on the right the territories of the Catholic princes lay

lay open, and upon the left the Emperor might be made to tremble in his capital. Both measures were chosen, and the question was, how each of them should be executed? Gustavus Adolphus, at the head of a victorious army, could find little resistance from Leipzig to Vienna, Prague and Presburg. Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, and Hungary, were defenceless, and the Protestants in those countries were anxious for a change of affairs. Ferdinand was no longer secure in his residence; Vienna would open its gates upon the first attack; the Emperor lost his allies with the states which the King detached from him, and he would have willingly concluded a peace with an enemy which was in the heart of his dominions. A conqueror would be flattered by this bold plan of operation, which might have justified the adoption of it; but Gustavus Adolphus, more a statesman than a conqueror, rejected it, because he had to attain a more important end, the issue of which he did not choose to trust either to valour or good fortune.

By marching towards Bohemia, Franconia and the Upper Rhine must be left to the Elector of Saxony. But Tilly had already begun, from the remains of his defeated army, the garrisons

garrisons in Lower Saxony, and the reinforcements which he received, to reassemble a new force upon the Wefer, with which it was not probable he would long delay to begin offensive operations. Against such an experienced general, an Arnheim could not be detached, of whose talents the battle of Leipzig had afforded but equivocal proofs; it was therefore of little consequence for the King to make rapid strides in Bohemia and Austria, if Tilly again became powerful in the Empire, and raised the courage of the Catholics by new victories, while he discouraged the Protestants; it was equally useless to him to subdue the enemy's hereditary dominions, while Tilly made conquests in the Empire. Could he hope to reduce to extremity an Emperor whom an insurrection of twelve years in Bohemia had not weakened, had not shook the firmness of that prince, or exhausted his resources, with which he now appeared more formidable than ever?

Less brilliant but better founded were the advantages which the King of Sweden could derive from an inroad into the territories of the League: his irruption here was decisive. At the same conjuncture the German princes were convened in a diet at Frankfort, concerning

ing the edict of restitution, where Ferdinand exhausted all the arts of his cunning policy to persuade the intimidated Protestants to agree to a sudden peace. The approach of their protector could alone excite them to a firm opposition, and to reject the Emperor's proposal. Gustavus Adolphus could now hope, by the terror of his arms, to subdue the disunited princes, and by his victorious presence to detach the remainder from the Emperor's interests; in the centre of the Empire, he here destroyed the nerves of Imperial power, which could not subsist without the assistance of the League. Here, in the vicinity of France, he was enabled to watch that suspicious ally; and when his private wishes required of him to cultivate the friendship of the Catholic electors, he might render himself master of their fate by establishing, through a magnanimous treatment, a claim to their gratitude.

He accordingly began his march towards Franconia and the Rhine, and left the conquest of Bohemia to the Elector of Saxony.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE HISTORY OF THE

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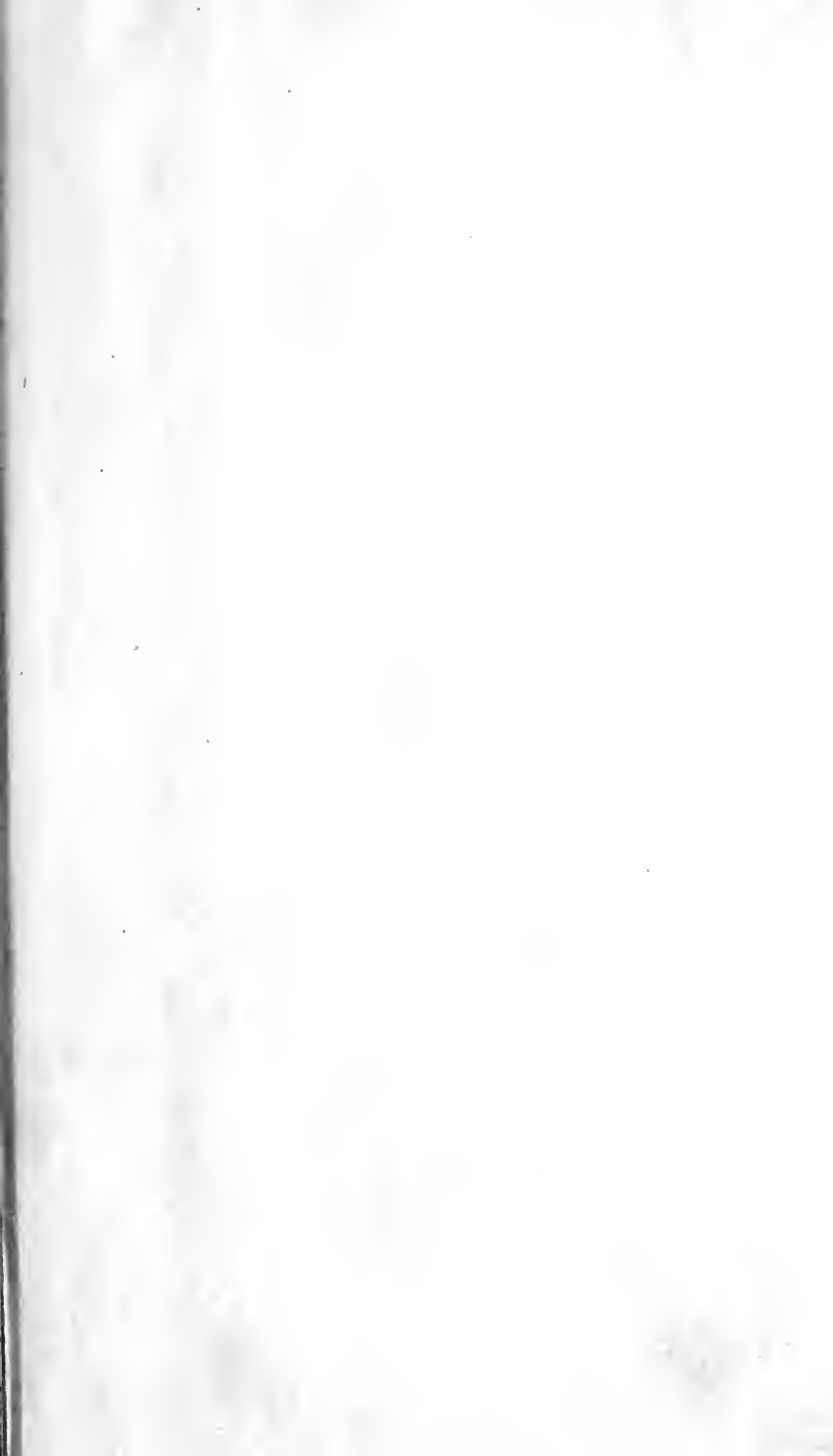
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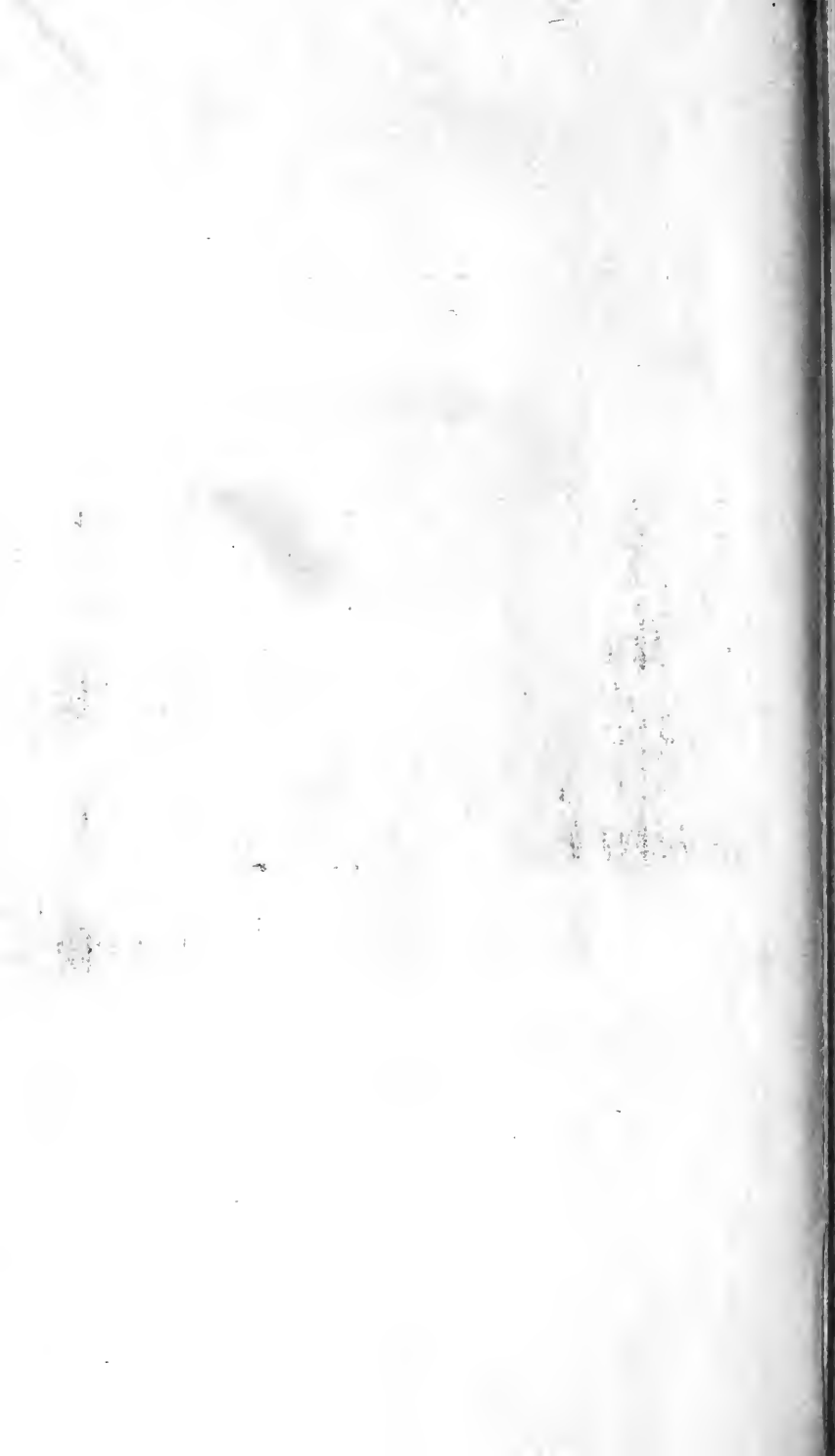
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